Matthew Engel

HE cricketing celebrity Ian Botham is facing, if not quite ruin, then at least a severe blow to his lifestyle after losing his marathon libel case against the former Pakistan captain Imran Khan.

After 13 days in Court 13 at the High Court, the jury last week decided by a majority verdict against claims by Botham and his former England team-mate Allan Lamb that they had been called racist and lacking class by Imran in the magazine
India Today, They also rejected by a
majority Botham's charge that Imran had, by implication, called him a cheat in a British newspaper

Halfway through the trial Imran agreed that Botham did not cheat at cricket, and he will have to pay for that part of the case. However, after an exercise estimated to have cost \$750,000. Botham and Lamb will have to bear the brunt.

Botham said he was "astonished" by the verdict, a view shared by many observers. Speculation during the jury's 4% hour deliberation centred only on the damages award. The judge, Mr Justice French, gave the jurors — seven men, five women - a notably curt thank you and then left, without a word of apology for obliging them to spend three weeks of high summer cooped up listening to an argument that was at best abstruse and at times absurd.

It was the second sudden defeat for English cricketers inside three days: England lost nine wickets to Pakistan's bowlers in the Lord's clear warning to potential lightants that the libel casino, once presumed



Imran Khan and his wife, Jemima, leaving the High Court last week

behalf. The implications for cricket are uncertain, though Pakistani players may now have enhanced respect for English decision-making, and it may help ensure that the rest of this summer's Test series is harmonious. It is good news for Imran's

presumed career in Pakistoni poli But the verdict has sent out a

making his final speech on limran's | to be a certain source of ready cash, | is now only about as safe as Lloyd's

Almighty, rather than to Mr Carman, when he left with his pregnant wife, Sir James Goldsmith's daughter Jemima. Botham and Lamb, ob serving the best cricketing traditions, accepted the umpire's decision with as much grace as they could manage and Botham said he would just have to go back to his

The alleged libels were published in 1994, and in the hours before the case opened there were intense efforts by Imran's lawyers to reach a settlement. These foundered because the proffered apology was considered too grudging and be-cause Botham and Lamb wanted damages — even though a third party had offered to pay both sides' costs up to that point.

As the case went on, and developed into a bonfire of fivers about one every 20 seconds, according to the best guesses - there was a growing sense of the absurd.

Imran's attempts to prove Botham had cheated by picking the seam or gouging a cricket ball failed utterly when his videos from 14year-old Test matches purporting to prove this were adopted by Botham's own counsel, Charles Gray QC, and clearly showed him manipulating, quite legally, a ball that had gone out of shape.

The argument then largely went into semantics about the distinction between cheating and merely breaking the rules. There was no consensus among the cricketers about whether ball-tampering had ever been accepted as custom and practice within the game.

Imran made no attempt to defend the suggestions that Botham and amb were racist or lacked class, and claimed that he had been mis

In the absence of substantive dis agreement between the parties, the jury may well have taken the view that the case should never have come to court.

cricketers trooped through the courtroom giving evidence. The Possibly they decided to punis the plaintiffs, as the presumed perpetrators of their incarceration. The poenaed by Imran, appeared wearlegal system is such that we shall never know without breaking the rules, or perhaps cheating.

Vol 155, No 7

Week ending August 18, 1998

1 Police intervene as Turkish Cypriots beat a Greek Cypriot during clashes across the partitioned island at the weekend. A Greek Cypriot was killed and more than 50 people from both sides of the communal divide were injured during a protest against Turkey's occupation of the north PHOTOGRAPH COSTAS EVENANDES

Khmer Rouge troops turn against Pol Pot

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

AMBODIA'S western border with Thailand is expected to be the scene of another upsurge in fighting — this time between different units of the Khmer Rouge.

The commanders of two Khmer Rouge divisions, with an estimated 3,000 troops occupying strategic points on the border, are breaking from Pol Pot and suing for peace

Barely two months after the emergence of rumours — never substantiated — that Pol Pot was dead, a schism has developed in the leadership of the Khmer Rouge.

Speculation now centres on the intentions and whereabouts of leng Sary, one of Pol Pot's oldest and closest associates. Khmer Rouge radio has denounced him for treachery, saying he should be executed for allowing government troops into

HE Ministry of Defence on

Monday began to buckle under the pressure of evidence

and admitted there bad been

weapons at American air bases

The MoD claimed formerly

secret RAF records of a serious

accident involving a "2,000lb

nuclear weapon" at Wittering, near Cambridge, had meant to refer to a dummy bomb training accident. It denied that newly

in Britain. But it dismissed such

accidents involving nuclear

incidents as "minor"

Soumes Milne

suggests that Mr Sary, who is also | Poipet, and hailed them as "our closely identified with the brutal horrors of Khmer Rouge rule, may have arrived in Bangkok to negotiate a deal with Phnom Penh to be

allowed in from the jungle. Cambodia's joint prime minister, Hun Sen, once bitterly hostile to a deal with Khmer Rouge leaders, appears to have made an about-turn, saying last week that Mr Sary could not expect a ministerial appointment but promising defectors offi-

cial positions and property.

The two divisional comma controlling Phnom Malai and Pailin have issued statements saying that they now follow Mr Sary and are seeking national reconciliation. They also appear to be marshalling their forces to repel possible attacks by forces loyal to Pol Pot and his

Mr Sen, who prematurely claimed last week that the two commanders had defected, said on Monday that they had now linked up with govern-

revealed documents exposed

44 years of cover-up.

Despite the admission, the
MoD clung to its longstanding

insistence that "there has never

damage to a nuclear weapon in the UK". A spokeswoman said:

weapons. Somebody might have

ground, which would probably

it is classified as an accident."

She was unable to explain why a squadron commander at RAF

ot even result in a scratch, but

been an accident involving

"At the most we are talking

about scratches to nuclear

dropped it a foot on to the

brothers and sisters". He added that the Khmer Rouge command had ordered its forces to attack them. Khmer Rouge radio said on Mon-

day that separate committees had been appointed to manage the Malai and Pailin areas. But the leadership now faces either a bloody operation to reclaim them or the loss of key positions in the defence of Khmer Rouge heartland.

Malai has long been an impreg-nable base, offering easy access to Thailand and within striking range of the only major road linking Thai-land and government-controlled towns. Pailin lies near the centre of lucrative Khmer Rouge gem-mining and timber operations. The defection of several thousand

May 1959. It was too long ago to

The Government's attempts to

explain away documentary

accident is unlikely to satisfy

denials were dismissed as

Defença cover-up, page 9

leaked documents.

Comment, page 12

evidence of a nuclear weapons.

demands for a full account. The

implausible by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which

has been the conduit for several

troops is a body blow to Pol Pot's rump command, already thought to nardcore military chiefs. have shrunk to fewer than 10,000 men. If Malai and Pailin slide into will be largely confined to a remote

The ceremony, broadcast live on Russian television, was intended to lay down a tradition for the democratic handover of power. Its last-

MoD admits nuclear weapons accident minute scaling down - from an hour-long event on the Kremlin's Cathedral Square to a brief civil cer-Wittering had reported "serious damage to a nuclear weapon" in emony - increased doubts about Mr Yeltsin's strength.

Mr Yeltsin's pre-election theatrical peace-treaty signing ceremony with the separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev in the Kremlin. and his lightning visit to Chechenia, where he told Russian troops that the war was over and they had won, have turned out to be bogus.

So, too, says Valentina Melnikova f the Committee for Soldiers' Mothers, was the president's clear undertaking in May that Russian conscripts would no longer be forced to serve in Chechenia. "They're sending conscripts there.

The state of the s Yeltsin leaves trail of broken promises

Wesly

just the same as they did before

Nothing has changed," she said

and put another one in."

They just move one regiment out

Promises to spend billions of dol-

lars rebuilding the ruined city of

Grozny are also in question. Presi-

dential and governmental decrees

on Chechen reconstruction are on a

list of 56 high-cost pledges, many

linked to the presidential election

campaign, due to be axed by a team

set up to keep the budget deficit

within the limits agreed with the la-

Details of the team's work, pub-

lished in Sevodnya newspaper this

week, show that the list includes a

decree on Chechen reconstruction

worth about \$3 billion. Another is a

\$45 million programme to protect

mafia-threatened judges, a key item

in Mr Lebed's plans to end crime

ternational Monetary Fund.

and corruption.

James Meek In Moscow

TheGuardian

HE most risky campaign promise Boris Yeltsin made was never spoken out loud. It was all in the twist of his big body as he jived on stage at those Russian rock concerts on the election trail in May. "Read my hips," he was saying. "I'm fightin' fit."

It was a broken promise for which his age and health, rather than the sickness of the body politic he heads, was responsible. But when the ailing president took the oath of office in the Kremlin last week, the live tele vision audience had plenty of other broken promises to remember.

The guests present at the short auguration ceremony were conscious that the greatest stain on Mr Yeltsin's first presidency - the decision to intervene in Chechenia and the subsequent death of tens of thousands of people - had not been atoned for.

viser, is to be given unprecedented

powers to solve the crisis, the ex-

paratroop general announced last

Fears that Mr Yeltsin's health will

year term, ushering in a backstage

power struggle for a successor

were not allayed by the president's

awkward appearance at the inaugu-

ration ceremony. He strode sternly

on to the stage in the Kremlin, in front of some 3,000 guests, and

stood stiffly for 16 minutes, swear

ing the oath with his hand on a copy

of the constitution. He spoke slowly

and slurred his words as he under-

took to "loyally serve the people".

The economics minister, Yevgeny Yasin, admitted last week that the The boom of artillery across the government did not have the money Moscow river in a 30-gun salute to to fulfil the president's promises. "All ionour Russia's newly sworn-in instructions of the president will be president was answered a thousandfulfilled. The major issue concerns fold from the charnel house of the term, and when it will be possible Grozny as Russian forces fought the to find these assets," he said. third battle for the Chechen capital But it is Mr Yeltsin's fragile with unabated ferocity this week. Scores of soldiers, rebels and civilians have died. Alexander Lebed Mr Yeltsin's national security ad-

health rather than his hollow promises that really threatens his hold on power. Few who voted for him believed his cornucopian pledges of peace and roubles by the cubic metre. "Nobody expected he would pay.

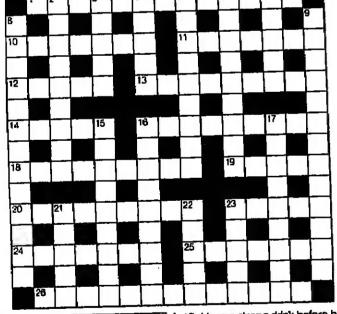
Everybody understood they were just election promises. The same with Chechenia. Politics everyprevent him from serving a full fourwhere is a cynical business," said Sergei Markov of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Moscow.

Comment, page 12

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Norway NK 16 Portugal E300 Seudi Arabia SR 8.50 Finland France Spain P 300 Sweden SK 19 Switzerland SF 3.30 L 3,000

Cryptic crossword by Chifonie



1 Keep quiet! To talk rubbish is out of order (6, 2, 5)

10 Become aware that lies are risky 11 A passion for European travel (7)

12 A girl is caught in wire netting (5) 13 Lib. defies whip! That shows scepticism (9)

14 Acknowledge juvenile's not Conservative (5) 16 Lord eats a consonime that's far

the pub (4, 2, 3)

from clear! (9) 8 Enclosed area stocked with drink is a challenge to those in trek (5)

20 Greek goddess gets washed. That's hard and dangerous! (9) 23 Direct attention to umpire's hesitation (5)

24 Hermit's ulcer's troublesome. Ambulance finally is here (7) 25 Ergo, a country in Africa's a

country in Africa (7) 26 Small book stolen by one into corruption (6.7)

Down

Agent loses head and hugs celebrity artist (9)

 Detechment and ensign initially get together (5) 4 Make a change and put me in

5 Exaggerate the number of

deliveries to the gallery (9) 6 Writer got up earlier in the afternoon to produce literary

work (5, 4) Artificial intelligence bears out politician was elsewhere at the

8 Regular's career is a stock type (8, 5)
9 Often hear door forced to get

another drink (3, 3, 3, 4) 15 Make the little beast bowl and

throw (9) 16 Exercise is about to stiffen soldiers' disposition (9)

7 A briefcase is left with a page (9) 1 Toulouse-Lautrec took part in producing what's right (5)

2 Pried into agreement in Kent (5) 23 Authorisation to wind up the clock (5)

Last week's solution

MASCARA SWALLOW
O E X T U S A A
DESULPHUR SAMOS
E S O F E T
MAIL MULTIMEDIA
O E S H B O Q
ANGLIA ECLOQUE
E N I A
FLACCID NIGHTS
A L T A T E O
BELLRINGER IMAM
E O O D R A B I
RAVEN OBNOXIOUS
G E I N E L T
E ARACHE TUSCANY

allowed him to explain.

cial theatres.

roadshow to raise the cash. He will

probably also have to spend more

Christmases doing panto in provin-

More than a dozen England

came when Geoffrey Boycott, sub-

ing no jacket and carrying a boot whose significance the judge never

his first European Tour victory at the Forsgarden Club. The 23year-old became the Volvo candinavian Masters champior when he holed a putt from 40 feet at the second extra hole.

He defeated Russell Claydon and Paul Broadhurst in the sudden-death play-off after all three English golfers had shot final rounds of 68 to tie on 281,

Broadhurst was the first to to the 449-yard 18th. After driving into a bunker and missing from eight feet he could not match his rivals' scrambled

nissed his putt from 25 feet,

Westwood included Colin

in front of the 7th green after

overnight transformation," said Westwood. "My first coach, John King, was very good but I had got into a play-safe attitude. Peter has got me hitting the ball mor essively in recent weeks." Wentwood's only problem,

after earning his place in the

Golf Volvo Scandinavian Masters

astonishing performance

Westwood, a Masters blaster

Michael Britten in Gothenburg

RE WESTWOOD capped three months of enviable con-sistency on Sunday by seizing

seven under par and one stroke ahead of the Spaniard Santiago succumb when the trio returned

t was his fourth succesaive play-off failure. On the second visit Westwood again missed the green but sank the most important putt of his liedgling career from the front edge for a birdie three. Claydon

Montgomerie, Ian Woosnam Bernhard Langer and John Daly among his victims; the American "surrendering" with a typically flamboyant gesture by throwing his titanium driver into a pond

aking a seven. Daly and the other three lumi-

naries had rounds of 70. Montgomerie, who finished 12th, was the most satisfied with his last outing before the USPGA Championship in Kentucky. "I drove and putted well, and I could do very well in the USA," he said.

Westwood, richer by £116,660, is now fourth in the European rankings, and is certain to win a place in England's team for the Dunhill Cup at St Andrews in October. That alone justifies the decision he made in April to entrust his game to the former Tour player Peter Cowen, now teaching at Lindrick.

"I have made almost an

play-off with an inward 33, was to avoid the last-hole error he made in the Italian Open, when he blocked his drive badly and took six when a par four would have made him the champion. But here each of his play-off drives found the middle of the fairway, and his putter did the

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Reaching out across Northern Ireland's divide

A RTHUR HUDSON, writing refuses to start the talks with the about last month's Orangemen RA until it resumes its ceasefire and parades in Northern Ireland (August 11), seems to think that centuries of conflict in the region stem from a severe lack of "superior judgment" on the part of the inhabitants, and that when faced with these seemingly unending conflicts, governments are usually helpless and can do nothing but occasionally use force to intervene.

Rather than attack the people of Northern Ireland's "moral behaviour" during the past 300 years, Mr Hudson should consider the role of both the British and Unionist establishments in keeping conflict alive for their own ends. The problems that the people of Northern Ireland are now suffering are the direct result of the use of the divide-andrule strategy employed by the British and loyalist establishment, to keep both Catholic and Protestant workers at each other's throats.

This factic is at work today, meaning the potential for unity in the region to defeat oppression is being sabotaged both by the British govship. The unionists may have shouted about their "right to march", but the Orange Order marches have little to do with cultural identity or their civil liberties. Faced with declining membership (125,000 in the 1960s down to 80,000 today), and the old promises of better jobs and housing being undermined by the current economic situation, the Orange Lodges are just becoming more nasty in their attempts to keep vicious sectarian-

John Major seems intent on doing everything in his power to scuttle he peace process. The Government

IRA until it resumes its ceasefire and surrenders its weapons, even though the British army, while it will never be beaten, admits that it can-not win the "war" either. Meanwhile Sinn Fein wina its largest share of the vote and is refused a place at the table. By making impossible de-mands, Mr Major has turned the process into a farce.

"The "achievement of neare" Ma Hudson refers to does not come through a few enlightened individuals such as Mandela or Gandhi. There is always movement from oclow, from the majority. Gandhi's strategy, if anything, stifled in many ways India's fight for independence. His commitment to pacifist action suited both the British and the risng Indian élites. Any Instance of Inlian peasants and workers (both lindu and Muslim) fighting British rule in more direct ways (refusing o pay taxes, strikes, naval mutinies)

The British finally left in 1947 Gundhi's non-violent, "man-of-conscience" role ensured that the Indian ruling class were in place to take over the reins from the British. For the nucjority of the Indian population, poverty and communal violence are still present in their

The working class, not "great men", create and move history along. What is needed in Northern Ireland is unity across the two communities: they will realise that they have more in common with one another than with the establishments in either London or Dublin, or with Orange Lodges trying to keep them apart with bigotry.

The Guardian 'A window on the wider world'

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I profes out to re-leve premotional offers from selected companies

Real gold at the Games

THE UNITED STATES won the I most Olympic medals with 101. But if, for each country that won medals, you divide its population by. its medal count, the winner is Conga, with one per 0.1 million, followed by the Bahamas and Jamaica. Cheers to Tonga, but such statistics mean little in the case of very small countries (eg, Sri Lanka's lack of medals doesn't signify absolute thletic nullity).

If you look to larger countries, it's Australia (one per 0.413 million) and Cuba (one per 0.417 million) is virtual dead heat. The US comes 36th, at one per 2.45 million, just behind its former Olympic nemesis, Russia. But I give the Olympics to Cuba, on the grounds that it got one medal for each \$1.08 billion of GNP. outdistancing Australia by a factor of four (on that score, the US was 48th, fourth from last amongst countries winning medals). (Dr) Gary Kemp.

University of Waikato.

COLLOWING the rampant nationalism and drug scandals of the recent Olympic Gamea, I would like o propose that both problems be resolved by banning national teams and replacing them with teams ponsored by drug companies. This would have the dual advantage of giving all competitors equal access to performance-enhancing chemicals trather than the present situation, where only those with criminal connections can benefit), and stopping the unpleasant displays of naional chauvinism that are (I think everyone would agree) not appro-priate to the post-cold war world. Darmstadt, Germany

Morality in a vacuum

IF MORAL relativism were the only alternative to moral absolutism (Comment, July 14), our morals would truly be in trouble. Fortunately, we need not resort to relativism to find a morality that is able to take account of "circumstances, conditions and culture" Non-relativistic traditions of moral thought have always recognised that circumstances are an important factor in making moral judgments.

This is fortunate, since to adopt relativism as an ethical theory is to give up on making moral judgments altogether. Moral relativism takes the descriptive truth that different persons and societies have different moral beliefs, and proceeds, unhampered by logic, to the conclusion that all these beliefs are true in their own way. This leaves us with no criteria for assessing ethical behaviour. We then have no grounds for objecting to female genital mutilation,

child slavery or genocide. There are strong reasons to object to moral absolutism. But to and "fanatical", reeked of prejudice. replace these absolutes with relativism is to leave a vacuum at the heart of our moral and social life. This seems an accurate depiction of our current malaise. Morality should not be left to religious persons, Religious and non-religious persons alike must seek substantive values and principles capable of sustaining our common life. These | Department of Sport Studies. ethical norms may be sensitive to | Rochampton Institute, London

circumstances without being relativistic. To advocate moral relativism is to abandon the search for that renewed moral and social vision that we so urgently need. David Clough,

Department of Religious Studies, New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Proprietorial about rights

N THE 1783 Treaty of Paris, the fledgling United States committed itself to "earnestly recommend to the legislatures of the respective states o provide for the restoration of all estates, rights and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects . . ." I believe nothing was ever done on those lines. at a state or federal level (nor, to the pest of my knowledge, was a real British subject ever defined).

Now that the US has seen the light and will no longer tolerate revoutionary governments expropriat ing property without compensation can we assume that the next order o business for Mesara Helms and Burton will be to repair the omission? Brian A Jones, Trooklyn, New York

DE THE appropriation in 1959 of US property in Cuba, has everyone forgotten Guantanamo Bay? Monica D White, Portland, Oregon, USA

It's not just

JET AGAIN we see how out of touch with real life our legal system is, that 13 days of court time could be wasted on a squabble be-tween three middle-aged children, when more pressing matters hang fire for lack of court time (Libel jury stumps Botham and Lamb, August 11). The legal profession does itself no good by pretending that all civil suits are of equal importance when it is obvious that scarce resources are being sidelined to deal with anachronistic and outmoded trivia. John Leach, London

T IS not only the vexed question of ball-tampering but the broader and more troubling issue of racism in cricket that has been left unresolved by the recent libel trial.

The two issues are related, mran's argument, confirmed by Geoff Boycott and Mike Atherton in court, has been that so-called balltampering was commonplace in cricket and that therefore it was invidious to single out the Pakistanis as offenders. Behind this double standard, lmran auggested, racism. Headlines such as "Pak Off The Cheats" (The Sun) and "Nailed: Paki Cheats" (The Mirror), and articles in the cricket press that repeat-

The video evidence which Matthew Engel claims "clearly showed [Botham] manipulating; quite legally, a ball that had gone out of shape" was no more or less conclusive than the video evidence that was used to condemn an entire team as "cheata". · · Mike Marqusee,

Briefly

OUR LEADER (Taking th I tigers by their tails, August 11) brings into sharp focus the issues of corruption, poverty, rich-poor gap, drugs and crime that plague the states of Asia. But the people of these countries are also concerned with the denial of their civil and political rights by regimes that depend for their existence on the support of the US or other Western countries.

The subatance of democracy lies in the rule of law, the protection of fundamental rights, an independent judiciary, a free press, the right to political dissent and the principle of rule by reference to the will of the people. There is no either/or relationship between socio-economic issues and political rights and processes. Both deserve concern. The real Asian miracle will come when both challenges are squarely and simultaneously met (Prof) Khurshid Ahmad. Chairman, Senate Standing Committee on Finance, Senate of

IN RESPONSE to Professor John Rex's appeal for aid for the "new" South Africa (July 28), it is always interesting when leftwing intellectuals put so much emphasis on access to formal education, the very means by which the ruling classes in Western societies have seduced potential leaders of the poor and disadvantaged into serving the status quo.

Pakistan, Islamabad, Pakistan

Precisely this seems to be hap pening in South Africa, where black professionals are on the increase but where little has been done to redistribute wealth and thereby improve the lot of the majority of citizens. More equitable access to educational institutions is unlikely to change this so long as that country remains entrenched in its capi-Aberystwyth, Dyfed

VITH reference to "What an ideal" (Comment, August 4). it is on record somewhere in the theatre world that the exclamation mark of the title Oklahomal of the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical that opened in New York in 1943 was certainly worth a million dollars or more, as anyone would agree. Penny Geldart, Aylmer, Quebec, Canada

A S EUROSTAR whisked us out of the Channel Tunnel Londonbound, a young boy (who had been deep in thought up until this point) stood on his seat, stared longingly out of the large gleaming window, and screamed excitedly: "Papa, papa! Maintenant on va voir les vaches folles!" The boy's father hushed his son, and looked around rather sheepishly.
(Dr) Noah Jamie Robinson. Saint-Maurice, France

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UN alarm at Bosnia voter intimidation

Julian Borger in Split

HE United Nations special human rights investigator for former Yugoslavia added her voice at the weekend to a gathering chorus of complaints about intimidation during voter registration for next month's Bosnian elections.

Amid growing evidence that the process is being used to reinforce a three-way partition of the country, Elisabeth Rehn said: "We have a strong feeling from the complaints we have got that there has been harassment around this registration.

Human rights groups and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which will oversee the elections on September 14 - have already expressed concern that the registration process is being rigged.

Serb leaders have been singled out for using it to pursue strategic aims of ethnic segregation, but there are increasing signs that Croat authorities are also attempting to manipulate the vote to split Bosnia's already fractured Muslim-Croat federation.

Serb, Crost and Muslim communities are expected to back nationalist politicians. Where they cast their votes will largely dictate Bosnia's

On several occasions in recent weeks, the OSCE has accused Bosnian Serb authorities and the Yugoslav government of pressing Serb refugees to register in their new constituencies rather than their pre-war homes. Thus they will vote in Republika Srpska — the Serb-run entity within Bosnia — and help reinforce its ethnic purity.

Most Muslim refugees, in con-trast, have asked for absentee ballots so they can cast their votes in their pre-war constituencies, which are now in Republika Srpska. This is in line with the Bosnia's policy of | recognition pact later this month.

David Harrison in Jaca

and Julia Hayley in Madrid

to their deaths by flash floods.

THE REGION of Aragon held three days of mourning last week for the holidaymakers at a

Pyrenees campsite who were swept

With the death toll standing at 83

so far, the debate was concentrating on how the disaster at Las Nieves

could have been prevented.

The meteorological office had warned of heavy storms due in the

area. A children's summer camp

20km away from Las Nieves had

been evacuated as a precaution, it

emerged, but Las Nieves and sites

Both the meteorological office

and the civil protection department

ing falls at all," said Juan San Nico-

las Santamaria, the civil protection

the smaller Aras, which runs from

The flow of the Aras is controlled

the mountains behind the site.

nearby were not.

director.

Flash flood brings tragedy to

Spanish Pyrenees campsite

maintaining Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified, multi-ethnic state.

The OSCE says it is too early to say whether Sarajevo authorities are using pressure to achieve that goal.

Meanwhile the European Union

scored a hard-fought diplomatic vic-tory in Mostar last week when Muslim and Croat local leaders agreed to run the town in southern Bosnis together in a multi-ethnic council. The deal - reached after four days of intensive negotiations - will almost certainly avert a humiliating withdrawal from the town by a European administration which took on Mostar's reunification as a special project two years ago.

The EU special envoy, Sir Martin Garrod, said he expected the EU presidency to halt withdrawal preparations already under way and to apmission, "with the aim of assisting and stabilising" the new joint council. The deal ends a month-long boy-

cott of the new council by Bosnian Croats after they lost local elections But the Mostar crisis has pro-

duced some troubling pointers. A British official in the town said that the refusal by Croat hardliners to accept an election result in a town of 60,000 people had embroiled diplomats and political leaders across the world, "In September, multiply that by a hundred," the official said. The agreement is unlikely to have

an immediate impact on life in Mostar. A group of Croat men out-side the EU headquarters in Mostar last week vowed no Muslim men would ever step into western Mostar.

In yet another major development former Yugoslavia moved closer to a post-war settlement last week when the two key strongmen, Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudiman of Croatia, signalled their intention to conclude a mutual

At a hurriedly-organised summit | the summit near Athens with United n an exclusive resort outside Athens, the two leaders agreed a joint statement paving the way for full diplomatic recognition at a further meeting in Belgrade within the

next few weeks. The Greek prime minister, Costas Similis, who organised and hosted

States and western European backing, described the talks as a big step towards an overall Balkan pence, al though it was not clear whether the two presidents had resolved any of their many differences.



Le Monde, page 13

Rwanda joins blockade to put squeeze on Burundi

have suggested that trees and rocks washed down by the rain might have built up behind a barrier, creat-

B URUNDI'S new military-led government has denounced Rwanda last week joined a regional blockade by closing its borders and cutting air links.

Lanzuela, governor of the Aragon Francisco Ayala, a director of the rechnical and Geo-mining Institute was less sure. He told the Spanish

news agency Efe: "A campsite like Las Nieves on the flood plain of a potentially torrential river . . . is the chronicle of a catastrophe foretold." At Jaca, a Pyrenees resort town near Biescas, 145km east of Pamplona, the bodies of the dead - dug were adamant that this type of storm was highly localised. These storms are difficult to pinpoint week. They were carried down

flood on campers below.

reputation and no one had ques

exactly. It could rain very hard steep stone steps to the local ice fly to Bujumbura. 10km away, and where you are noth- rink for identification. Three bodies were found 1km from the Las Nieves campsite. At | Burundi's former military least two more were found near the | leader, Pierre Buyoya, again

The camp was built 12 years ago in a fold of the Pyrenees beside the Most of the 657 campers reg Most of the 657 campers regis-Gallego river where it is joined by | tered at the site have now been accounted for - though an official said it was difficult to know how

many others might have been in the by man-made barriers. Experts | area when the storm hit.

Chris McGreai in Bujumbura

ing a temporary dain until the whole sanctions against the country as structure gave way, unleashing the a crime against humanity after "The campaite had an excellent tioned its set-up," said Santiago After days of vacillating,

Rwanda became the last country in the region to enforce sanctions, plugging the only remain-ing exit route from Burundi by land, water or air. Foreigners and wealthy

Burundians who had scrambled for seats on the last flights out of the country were left stranded when Air France and the Belgia airline, Sabena, cancelled their services because Burundi's neighbours refuse to let them to

sanctions last month after seized power. A regional summit demanded the restoration of constitutional rule and unconditional talks between Burundi's Tutal-dominated establishment and Hutu rebels.

The leader of the Hutu rebels,

Leonard Nyangoma, last week welcomed the sanctions. In a statement he called on people to disobey the new rulers and said he expected sanctions to force the government into

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania had already halted all air and ground traffic to Burundi and appeared to be rigorously enorcing the blockade. Tanzania was not allowing even individuals to cross its border.

ately that they do not believe Mr Buyoya is in control of his army. They fear the political situation is less certain than might appea in the relatively quiet capital. The US embassy last week advised its citizens to leave the country immediately.

army has stepped up the civil war with a new push to clear Hutu rebels and civilians from areas of central Burundi and create safe havens for Tutsis. The UN children's fund,

The overwhelmingly Tutal

Unicef, warned that its work with about two million people would be seriously impaired if . vaccines, drugs and rations for malnourished children were not delivered.

Indonesian police arrest 10 over riots

John Aglionby in Jakarta

HE Indonesian police an-nounced on Monday that they had arrested the leader of the left wing Democratic People's Party (PRD) for masterminding the riots that rocked Jakarta last month. At least nine other activists were also detained in a weekend sweep.

Budiman Sudjatmiko, aged 26 was caught in a Jakarta suburb a the weekend. He had been in hiding since the riots on July 27 and 28.

The army has accused the PRD of spreading hatred of President Subarto and having links with the banned Indonesian Communis Party (PKI),

A military spokesman said documenta seized from Sudjatmiko showed he and the PRD had "clear links" with the PKI.

Sudjatmiko is expected to be charged soon with subversion and inciting people to riot during a freespeech forum at the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). The maximum penalty subversion is death.

The rioting crupted when troops stormed the PDI hendonartees while it was occupied by the supporters of the party's ousted leader. Megawati Sukarnoputri. The suhorities believed the gathering had secome too militant and critical of he government.

Three people died in the purest. dozens were injured and more than 250 arrested. Many are still missing Last week President Subarto said that Sudjatmike had "conducted

activities which had the characteristies of insurgency", but the authorities have yet to produce any evidence of such action. The PRD is an alliance of student and labour or ganisations and has fewer than ,000 members.

Sudjatmiko's mother, Sri Lestari denied her son was a communist or nvolved in undermining the government. She said: "We didn't raise our children to be that way. The reports that he masterminded the riot hurt me. I don't believe them." Bu she admitted that she had not seen much of her son since he dropped out of university several years ago We're going to pray for him and le Allah decide his fate," she said.

Praemodya Ananta Toer, a prize winning writer, and Sukmawat Sukarnoputri, Megawati's sister, were summoned by the police on Monday for questioning in connection with the unrest.

Toer has never been convicted of criminal offence but was in jail for 14 years for alleged links with the PKI. Most of his writings are banned for supposedly containing Marxist teachings.

Megawati herself spent nearly seven hours in Jakarta's police headquarters last week being questioned about events leading up to the riots. Megawati, who was told to report for further questioning week, did not play up her first pubic appearance since the riots, leaving by a side door to avoid journalists and a small crowd of supporters waiting outside. She gave no clue as to the thrust of police inquiries.

Her sister Sukmawati is not known to have any strong political associations.

Analysts believe the unrest was not caused by political subversion but by frustration at economic inequality.



The Week

award was made against a US subsidiary of BAT, the British

tobacco giant. Nearly \$1.5 bil-lion was wiped off its share value

RASH investigators have all

that a bomb in the forward cargo

hold of TWA Flight 800 caused

the explosion that brought down

the Boeing 747 last month, killing all 230 on board.

PANEL of US scientists believe they have found

"evidence of past life on Mars"

based on 2½ years of research

Antarctica, which they believe

was catapulted off Mars 16 mil-

EXICAN authorities have

Captured a suspected drug

lord, Pedro Lupercio Serratos,

known as the chief of the Jalisco

drug cartel, with his brother and

URKEY signed a \$20 billion

natural gas deal with Iran,

insisting that the agreement did

not violate the new US sanctions

against the Iranian government.

The sales will earn Iran an esti-

Turkey's pragmatism, page 7

iran fights back, page 18

mated \$1 billion a year.

two other men, the attorney-

Return ticket, page 22

on a meteorite found in 1984 in

but ruled out the possibility

Washington Post, page 15

The dead man was reported to have taken part in a march organised by Muslim vigilantes who are challenging the gangs in the Coloured suburbs.

Local politicians and police exchanged insults as a row flared over who was to blame for the violence, in which a gang leader was shot and burnt to death and 18 people injured in a shoot-out between vigilantes and alleged drug dealers.

George Fivaz, the national police chief, is investigating allegations that police, who were present at the gunbuttle, failed to intervene to save the murdered man.

Rashaad Staggie, who can the Hard Living gang with his twin brother Rashid, died in front of press cameras when he tried to drive through a heavily armed mob of vigilantes marching on his house. He survived an initial shot to the head at point-blank range, but was

flee, and was then riddled with bullets as he died in a gutter.

The killing has been followed by threats of revenge and counterrevenge. Rashid Staggie declared at his brother's funeral that there would be war. In return, the vigilantes - who have declared a jihad against gangs — have threatened to use sulcide bombers if Muslim religious leaders or mosques are attacked.

Dullah Omar, the justice minis ter, and Leon Wessels, the provincial police chief, later held a crisis meeting with local civic and religious leaders. Politicians blamed the violence on the tartliness of the judicial authorities in dealing with he gangs that flourish in Coloured

Frank Kahn, the Cape's attorney general, dismissed the criticism as 'cheap political opportunism", but conceded that police and government departments had failed the

It is believed that members of a Shi'ite extremist group, Qibla, may have been among the vigilantes who style themselves the "People Against Gangsterism and Drugs" (Pagad). But Farouk Jaffer, Pagad's "chief

angrily objected to the characterisa-

biding people who are opposed to the high level of drug trafficking in South African society." Mr Jaffer said the organisation had

issued an ultimatum to Mr Omar in May to take action against drug lords within 60 days. When the ultimatum expired last month, they delivered co-ordinator", said that the organiultimatums to 16 gang leaders, warnset ablaze with petrol as he tried to sation was not a "militant fundamenting them to stop their activities,

tallst or extremist organisation". He | • A furious row within South Africa's government about "cash for favours" intensified at the weekend when the president, Nelson Mandela, admitted that the country's casino king, Sol Kerzner, facing bribery charges, had donated R2 million (\$447,000) to the ruling

> But Mr Mandela denied any attempt had been made to interfere in a criminal prosecution against Mr Kerzner in exchange for the

A vigilante group member aims a revolver during the violence that crupted during a march in Cape Town at the weekend PHOTO: SABA KRALL

tion of its members as vigilantes. "It is, in fact, comprised of sincere, law-

African National Congress.

Finns give blacks icy reception A FLORIDA jury awarded damages totalling \$750,000 to a former amoker, Grady Carter, aged 66, who lost part of his lung to cancer in 1991. The

AMES was not looking for

trouble. Sitting at the night-club bar, he saw the white guys attack the two Somalis and watched, horrified, as the bouncers joined in with kicks and punches. Then they turned on him - "Hey, nigger" — and he was out on the pavement with the Somalis. Badly bruised, he was off work for two

> daughter down the street one afternoon last summer. Four or five men appeared out of nowhere saying nigger this, sambo that, you're taking our money, you're stealing our women. Then one of the men pulled his little girl out of the pushchair by

Aisha has had white girls spit it her face; Rachid cannot remember how often he's been hit; Redouan was put in hospital by two akinheads, and then lost the court case. Paula, a white girl married to a black man, remembers the middleaged woman who helped lift her pram into the bus, then dropped it and swore when she saw the baby's

Emerging from 800 years of foreign occupation and half a century of cold war isolation, whiter-thanwhite Finland, a European Union newcomer, is not finding it easy to velcome foreigners, particularly those whose skin colour is different from the Swedes, Russians and Estonians who make up the major-

ity of its 69,000 immigrants. "It's terrible," said James, aged 36, a dance teacher from London. "I

shout at you from cars, they assume you're a refugee. When they're drunk, they're unbelievable."

Dans, a tall 21-stone bodybuilder and former Chicago policeman, said he is "paranoid as hell". He lives in a nest Helsinki flat with his Finnish wife, Minna, and baby son. "I'm big, but when they're drunk I'm their worst nightmare come true. They have to fight or they're not Finnish

Finland has experienced little of the organised racial violence that has made headlines in Sweden and Germany. But, said Dana, black people face a climate of mistrust and ignorance.

"People just stare, all the time, then look away when you catch their eyes," he said. "And their comments! That's what finally gets you. I had a friend who was at the zoo with his family. A little Finnish kid came up and licked his hand - like to see what it was made of."

There are about 12,000 black immigrants in Finland out of a total oppulation of 5.1 million, said Helge Valama, head of the recently estab-Ished European Union Migrants Forum in Helsinki.

"Blacks have the hardest time." ne said. "The country was effecively closed after the war, it was a very hard life here, and the Finns are worried for their jobs, their women — you name it."

Mr Valama, a leading member of Finland's 10,000-strong Romany community, believes the government is complacent and contributes to the problem. "There is structural

thought these attitudes had died 30 racism in Finland, it runs right years ago. They stare at you, they through the bureaucracy," he said. "Romanies have been here for 500 years, and our own candidate is still not allowed to head the committee for Romany affairs."

Nearly every black immigrant has a story of bureaucratic injustice. lousseine, a Moroccan interpreter at a refugee centre in the city of lampere, said he knows of only one black person who has won a disrimination or abuse case. "Some policemen say quit

openly: 'Fight back when you're attacked, but don't hang around till we arrive, because the law isn't on your side," he said. "The visa people hold your passport for six months while they decide if you can stay, even if you have a Finnish wife. If you want to travel, sure, you can have your passport, but then the whole entry process starts over

Ole Norrback, the European affairs minister and one of the few oliticians to argue for higher immi rration, admits there are difficulies. "I don't think Finland is racist. but Finns are cautious about foreigners, for good historical reasons. It's important for Finland that we have more foreigners, and we have no choice now we're in the Eurolead the way and some are still

But bureaucracy is not all that needs to change. The Golden ABC, a popular children's reader now in its 12th edition, shapes Finnish attitudes young. "The Negro washes his face," it teaches toddlers, "but it

Errors delayed warning to police of Atlanta bomb

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

lan Katz in Atlanta

WARNING that a bomb was A WARNING that a bomb was about to explode in Atlanta's Centennial Park failed to reach uthorities at the scene because an emergency operator did not know the park's address and telephone lines to the police con troi centre were engaged, it has

Last month's bombing killed ne woman and injured more han 100. A Turkish cameraman who died of a heart attack as he rushed to the scene is also being treated as a homicide.

Authorities at the park began clearing the area after they were alerted by Richard Jewell, the security guard who later became the prime suspect. But critics nave suggested that there might nave been fewer injuries if they had been warned earlier.

The man, who called at 12.58am on July 27, said only: There is a bomb in Centennial Park. You have 30 minutes." Atlanta's police chiefs say the call was handled in accordance with a protocol designed to deal with bomb warnings.

However, a recently released police transcript reveals an almost farcical sequence of events that delayed transmission by at least 10 minutes. Included is the following exchange between the operator and a police dispatcher: Operator: "You know the

ddress of Centennial Park?"

Dispatcher: "Girl, don't ask me to lie to you.

Operator: "I tried to call ACC the Atlanta police department's command centre], but ain't nobody answering the phone . . . But I just got this man talking about there's a bomb set to go off in 30 minutes in Centennia

Dispatcher: "Oh Lord, child. One minute, one minute . . . Uh, okay, wait a minute. You put it n, and it won't go in?"

Operator: "No, unless I'm spelling Centennial wrong. How are we spelling Centennial?'

On her second attempt to call the police command centre, the line was bad and she was told to call again. When she did get through, an unidentified official told her he did not have the park's address, adding: "What "all think I am."

The operator eventually btained the address from an office at Centennial Park itself and transmitted the report of th warning call at 1:08:35. However, it was 1:11:10 before r police unit was contacted.

Nine minutes later, a police officer radioed: "Be advised that something just blew up at Olympic Park."

Embarrassment has also mounted as FBI agents have failed to find conclusive evidence against Mr Jewell, The bureau is under pressure to explain why he was named as a leading suspect.

4

US agrees 'oil for food' plan for Iraq

Mark Tran in New York

HE United States this week finally accepted a United Nations plan allowing Iraq to sell oil to buy ood, medicine and other humanitarian supplies to ease the burden

Madeleine Albright, US represenlative at the UN, removed the last obstacle to the oil-for-food plan when she announced approval of strict procedures to prevent Saddam Hussein from getting hold of the

The UN oil plan will mark Irag's return to the oil market for the first time in six years. Iraqi oil is expected to flow again in September. The UN may take four or five weeks physically to put in place a compre

nensive monitoring regime. Under a memorandum of understanding signed in May and subsequently modified at US and British insistence, Iraq agreed to a highly intrusive UN presence. Monitors will be allowed to room anywhere in the country, checking markets and clinics, to make sure that emergency supplies are reaching the needliest people.

As part of the plan, \$150 million of each \$1 billion in oil sales will be spent on aid to the Kurds in northern lraq, now effectively an autonomous region under Western

Ms Albright emphasised that while "the important point here is to try to get humanitarian assistance: to the people within Iraq", the sanctions against the government would remain intact.

Washington Post, page 15

Tamils despair as peace plan sidelined

Suzanne Goldenberg

RI LANKAN Tamils, who once Saw President Chandrika Kumaratunga almost as a saviour, fear that she is falling back on a military solution to end the 13-year civil war.

Tamil Tiger guerrillas have govcrnment forces tied down just outside the town of Kilinochchi, the last population centre under rebel control. It seems clear that both sides are suffering heavy casualties in the army's slow advance on the north-

The defence ministry claimed that it lost 16 soldiers on one day last week, while killing 60 guerrillas. The rebel Voice of the Tigers radio said 200 soldiers had been killed since the battle for

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

W ITH the Middle East peace process on hold and tentative

new alliances forming on the fron-

tiers of beleaguered Iraq, summer

has been a season of hectic diplo-

Already this month no less than

nine high-level missions have criss-

crossed the skies as governments

jostle for advantage amid quick-fire

Three main factors have obliged

the leading players to increase the

pace: the election of a rightwing

Israeli government in May; rising

concern about the stability of Iraq and mounting resentment of the United States' latest heavy-handed

On the face of it, the restoration

political developments.

stance towards fran.

Kilinochchi began last month. The scale of civilian suffering is also bound to be high. The Interna-tional Committee for the Red Cross said it fears that 100,000 people have fled Kilinochehi and are living out in the open. With food and medical

welfare, Gerard Peytrignet of the CRC said. The capture of Kilinochchi is vital f there is to be a land link between the northern Jaffna peninsula, seized from the Tigers last December, and the government-controlled

The confrontation follows the Tigers' attack on the Sri Lankan army last month, when the rebels overran the military camp at Mullaitivu and killed more than 1,100

Mrs Kumaratunga came to power two years ago as the only Sinhalese

Diplomacy fills Arab skies | dan's King Hussein that Israel r

of Likud to power in Israel has done

most to galvanise Arab diplomacy.

But after an initial show of summit

level solidarity in Cairo in June,

there has been little enthusiasm for

The new Israeli prime minister,

Arab leaders with his hardline state-

ments during and after the election,

rejecting a Palestinian state and

supporting renewed Jewish settle-

ment of the occupied territories.

But more recently he has moved

Syria, however, has rejected an

quickly to smooth ruffled feathers.

offer by Mr Netanyahu to resume

peace talks, saying his proposal had

a united approach.

peace. Her peace plan, which would devolve powers to regional councils. was the boldest attempt yet to satisfy the demands of the Tamil minority for self-government.

shipments to the north blocked for But Tamil leaders say her plan a month, fears are growing for their lacks support even among members of her ruling People's Alliance - let alone the opposition United National Party. They also fear that she s now leaning towards a military solution to a war that is projected to cost 50 billion rupees (\$930 million) this year alone.

An all-party parliamentary committee has been mulling over the constitutional reform package since January. Tamil politicians fear that when it resurfaces, it will be significantly diluted. That would discredit their own claims to serve the interests of their people better than the rejected the plan outright.

mains committed to peace.

and Jordan last week

broker in the region.

fered to help mediate.

The president of the Palestinian

National Authority, Yasser Arafat,

was also seeking support in Egypt

President Hafez al-Assad of Syria

country's demand for unconditional

Mr Assad has also had a rare sig-

nal of support from Jordan. King

Hussein recently flew to Damascus

and praised Mr Assad for his com-

mitment to peace and implicitly of-

BDULRAHMAN Molamed A BDULRAHMAN Molamed Babu, a key player in the run-up to the Zanzibar revolution in 1964 and a significant figure in the Pan-African movement of the fifties, has died in ondon at the age of 71.

> HE politician U Hia Than has died in a Burmese prison, aged 52. He was a mem ber of the Aung San Suu Kyl's National League for Democracy, and had spent six years in Inseln Prison outside Rangoon.

G ULF war bombing of Iraqi chemical weapons plants sent clouds of low-level nerve gas towards allied positions in Saudi Arabia, US investigators

has been assiduously promoting his RENCH riot police were accused of "stupid and iyanin Netanyahu, outraged Heights with help from Egypt, 300-strong force staged a dawn which sees itself as the main peacechurch 10 immigrants on hunger strike to fight expulsion. only for the demonstrators, backed by more protesters, to return later in the day.

The king has been in Saudi Ara-NDIA said it would not bow to bia this week. He was greeted at the nothing to do with peace.

Visiting Cairo and Amman, Mr
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and Jor
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and Jor
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian Hussein during the 1991 Gulf war.

International pressure to move its threat to block a glace that the has been forgiven, publicly at least, for slding with Saddam the government had the sure of its 900 million citizens. International pressure to remove its threat to block a global nuclear test ban treaty, saying the government had the support

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Martin Walker

AN DIEGO: The Republicans Sare fielding the odd couple this year. Robert Dole's selection of Jack Kemp as his running mate was a very real surprise because the two men have been political enemies for nearly 20 years. And it will take rather more effrontery than Dole has shown so far to explain why he has picked to replace him — in the strong possibility that at 73 he does not survive a full term of office — a man he once suggested had too often played football without a helmet.

Describing himself as "a bleedingwart conservative". Kemp would be a marvellous orator if he could only stop talking. He has a relentlessly sunny disposition and an endearingly puppy-like way of bounding with energy. His very presence i calculated to exhaust the morosi and lethargic Dole. It will also take effrontery by

Kemp to campaign on a Republican platform when he is known to disagree, violently, with almost half of it. Violence is something with which Kemp is identified. I am told by one who was in the Oval Office at the time that Kemp once jumped over the furniture, in the presence of President Bush, to get to grips with the then secretary of state. James

There had been an angry argument over Soviet behaviour in the Baltic states, and Baker, impatient at Kemp's amateurish moralising, invited him to perform an anatomical impossibility upon himself. Kemp, still athletic in late middle age after his brilliant career as a professional quarterback with the Buffalo Bills, leapt over a chair or two. Baker beat a hasty retreat. Kemp chased him down the corridor towards the Roosevelt Room, and was about to embrace him warmly by the throat when the two men were separated by the diminutive Brent Scoweroft. the national security adviser.

The Dole-Kemp strategy sessions also promise to be lively. Kemp despises the anti-immigration measures that Dole supports, from the callons pledge to withdraw public services such as schools and hospitals from the children of illegal inmigrants, to the offensive demand that US citizenship no longer be automatically given to those born on its territory.

Kemp also despises the meanspirited racial attitudes that underpin the Republican manifesto pledge to abolish affirmative action for blacks and other minorities. In lessons learnt from his footballing days, Kemp is one of the few Republicans visibly at ease with racial

matters, and has said his Republicans "will not be complete" until the party becomes as natural a political home for black voters as the Demo-

Kemp, a passionate free marketeer who believes in restoring the gold standard, is openly contemptuplank in the new Republican plat-Trade Organisation. This is the the issues that Buchanan made his own. Indeed, the Republican platform looks uncannily like the Buchanan manifesto.

"This is very Buchanan," boasted Bay Buchanan, whose brother gave Dole an early whipping in this year's primaries. She crowed that the party platform and the convention delegates are further to the right than she and her brother "ever dreamed" possible. The result is that save for tax cuts and opposition to abortion. there probably is not too much in the Republican manifesto that Kemp can honestly support. "Sometimes I don't know where I

fit in the Republican party," Kemp confessed earlier this year, as he announced that he was endorsing Dole's rival for the Republican nomination, the millionaire publisher Steve Forbes. Honour required no less. Forbes and Kemp have been brothers in arms in a group called Empower America, dedicated to winning the Republican party back to the low-tax and fast-growth economic nostrums that nearly bankrupted the country in the Reagan

As the aide to then-Governor Reagan of California in the 1960s, Kemp had converted his boss to the new supply-side theories. Now he is claiming to have converted Dole, too, and certainly Dole's tax-cutting promises ring less hollow with Kemp there to back them up.

The Republicans want to believe that Dole means it. Suddenly blossoming on to the lapels of every Republican delegate to the San Diego convention, the little blue sticker that says "15%" is supposed to be the miraculous additive that will power the Dole campaign.

As electoral bribes go, it is generous enough. Fifteen per cent off everybody's taxes sounds fair, and the Republican television ads are ramming home the basic message that a family of four on average earnings will be \$1,500 better off next year. The Republicans are being more reticent about the fact that a family of four on three times average earnings will save \$10,700, and even quieter about the halving

of capital gains taxes. The Democrats find the Dole tax pledge to be a target-rich environment, and have already begun their counter-ad barrage. The first shot shows film of Dole in 1980, 1983 1984 and 1988 denouncing the and Rich DeVos of the AmVay 'voodoo economies" of tax cuts that simply balloon the deficit. The real hole in the Dole tax plan is what it does to the public services that voters tell polisters they want to keep. The Dole plan promises \$548 billion in tax cuts over the next six years, of

faster growth.

ous of the Pat Buchanan-inspired form that condemns the World nternational arbitration and judicial body that resolves trade disputes under the Gatt treaty, and it is one of

So he has still to find close to | of whom we last heard when Pat | if the property is ecologically fragile \$400 billion in spending cuts. And this is on top of the \$390 billion in cuts that have already been agreed by Congress for the next six years. Dole says he will not touch defence, Medicare, social security or interest on the national debt. That leaves him less than a third of the federal budget to attack, and it will mean the virtual cradication of the departments of commerce, energy, education, housing, transport and

It will be, as Dole boasted last week of his promise to close the Internal Revenue Service, the end of government as we know it. And that was the mistake the Congressional Republicans under Newt Gingrich made last year, when they allowed Bill Clinton to stand firm as the defender of public spending on programmes the voters decided they

The fact is that the Republican party is now a lot further to the right than most Americans. This is quite deliberate: witness the gathering that took place over the weekend on plush Coronado island, which dominates San Diego bay. Most of the private events that matter to the Republican party took place there, away from the hurly-burly and elevision cameras of the convention itself

The most important meeting was closed to all but members, and the membership list is secret. The ewsletter through which the group sticks together deliberately maintain the conspiratorial flavour, with "For Your Eyes Only" stamped on the title page. You will not find the Council for National Policy (CNP) listed in any telephone book, and there is no discreet brass plate bearing its name on any exclusive townnouse or office building. It is only 15 years old. You do not apply to join, you can only be invited. Mem-bership is reported to be around

The CNP is the high command of JS conservatism, an élite operation devoted to keeping the Reagan coalition in being. It was founded in 1981 by the small group of Californians and western multi-millionaires who made up Reagan's kitchen cabinet. The Coors brewing family direct-sales giant still provide the financial backbone. The current president is Ed Meese, Reagan's

attorney-general. The executive board includes the Reverend Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Coalition, and Phyllis which \$147 billion will be defrayed Schlafly, the anti-gay and anti-abor-- he assumes - by the higher tax | tion activist who runs the Eagle receipts that should come with Forum. It also includes Larry Pratt,



Winning ticket? Presidential candidate Bob Dole introduces his running mate, Jack Kemp, t supporters in Kansas over the weekend

Buchanan was embarrassed by the organisation's attendance at a neo-Nazi rally with the Aryan Nation. These folk stick together. They

do not trust the mainstream media to cover the convention in the right way. Indeed, one of the members is Reed Irvine, who runs Accuracy in Media, which tries to document his claims of liberal bias and buys fullpage ads in the mainstream press to publicise the wilder allegations around the Clinton's Whitewater

Rather than leave the convention the hands of the closet socialists who run CBS, NBC and CNN, the Council decided to offer its own coverage. DeVos gave his CNP chum Robertson \$1.3 million to underwrite a special telecast of the convention on Robertson's Family Channel. If that contains too much religion, good conservatives can switch to National Empowerment TV on cable, founded by another CNP stalwart, Richard Viguerie, who made his first fortune through

The fact is that the Republican party is a lot further to the right than most Americans

direct-mail fund-raising for conser-

The CNP's brand of conservatism is striking in its casual approach to economic policy. Karl Marx could hardly believe that an organisation so deeply ideological could be quite so agnostic about something as fundamental as free trade. The CNP quite happily embraces the Buchanan argument that free trade is too damn good for foreigners and too challenging for unprotected US workers. But the CNP newsletters have supported the North American Free Trade Agreement and other landmarks of the new free-trading

The CNP cares far more about politics in the traditional sense. It distrusts Washington and loathes big government and taxes, and instinctively opposes any attempt to suggest that there may be a public right to interfere with private property, But it is quite prepared to use the power of the law and govern-

ment to control private behaviour. It insists that the government should never have the right to stop anyone developing his or her who heads Gun-Owners of America, property as he or she wishes, even Comment, page 12

wetlands. But the government must have the power to imprison any doctor who dares carry out an aborion. A government that cannot be trusted to educate children should however, be trusted to censor

It is a deeply confused conservatism. Its heritage runs back through Reagan to the first conservative standard-bearer in the postwar period, the Arizona senator Barry Goldwater. His pledge, that "I'd rather be right than be presi dent", is still the battle cry of a conservatism that prefers rightconsness to power. And yet Goldwater is these days shunned by the CNP be cause he abides by the old libertar ian traditions of the US right.

"Always have been gays in the military, and always will be. Hell, I don't care if they are straight, so long as they shoot straight," Goldwater declared three years ago, when he came to the rescue of President Clinton's controversial policy. This month, Goldwater decided to endorse Clinton.

Confused, sectarian and narrowninded as it is, the CNP is the group with the wealth and the media outlets. And in the Christian Coalition it has the nationwide organisation to dominate the Republican party.

"We are not big enough as a novement for the Republican party to win with us alone," the Christian Coalition's director, Ralph Reed, explained in San Diego last week, "But we are big enough so that they cannot win without us."

Through the CNP, the Christian Coalition has just the allies it needs the broader and more secular reaches of conservatism. But it is now an open question whether the traditional Republican coalition can survive this intolerant new power of the CNP. It is not only liberal Republicans who support abortion who fear being driven out, but also gay Republicans, those who support gun control, those who question the need for prayer in schools, and those who think Republicans should protect the environment.

In asserting their dominance over the Christian Coalition are forget ting the key to the success of their hero, Ronald Reagan. Political parties win by widening their coalitions to bring people in, not by keeping them out of an élite and secretive island conclave. Still, the garrulous and attractive Jack Kemp may give the appearance of inclusion for a while. This election may at last be livening up.

Turkey takes a pragmatic line

asks whether the

GUARDIAN WEEFLY

fundamentalist bark of the new government has proved worse than its bite

■ T HAD just turned midnight. Thursday had become Friday -the Muslim holy day. In the Mon Amour club, at least

20 women in skimpy dresses were sitting at a bar festooned with red lights. Across town, in a casino beneath the Hilton hotel, silken-haired croupiers were shuffling cards and spinning wheels as another night's cambling started.

On the Kral pop video channel, a beefcake with designer stubble was getting out of a BMW convertible in pursuit of a mini-skirted girl. A graphic proclaimed that the song was in the Burger King Top 20.

It takes a deep swig of raki to believe this is a city run for the past two years by an Islamist mayor, the capital of a country which for the past two months has been led by an Islamist prime minister. It appears that Necmettin Erbakan and his Refah (Welfare) party are blazing a trail to Islamic pragmatism.

Since coming to power in coali tion with Tansu Ciller's True Path party, Turkey's Islamists have made a remarkable succession of U-turns. They have agreed to renew the mandate of the United States-led air

force which operates out of southern Turkey to protect Iraq's Kurds. In opposition, they had called it an "occupying force". They have decreed another four

months of emergency rule in the southeast, where Turkish security forces are fighting Kurdish guerrillas. In opposition, they had demanded an end to it.

Despite years of anti-Zionist rhe-toric, Refah deputies have voted for an investment protection agreement with Israel. And, having repeatedly criticised the use of arbitrary measures by previous administrations, the new government is using "authorisation laws" that give a decree the force of an act of

Refah's record in national government is consistent with its performance in city halls. In Istanbul. which also has an Islamist adminis tration, Refan councillors have made only timid gestures towards creating a more devout society.

one who takes a political position

John Hooper in Ankara | after 1am and restored the traditional Ramadan practice of firing a cannon at the end of each day's fasting. They had also planned to repaint kerb markings in Islamic green and white, but quickly abandoned the idea when it was explained that this would violate international transport agreements.
Foreigners resident in Istanbul

say the most obvious change is improved services; the strects are cleaned more thoroughly, the rubbish collected more often.

For many, it is now clear that the bark of Turkey's Islamists was worse than their bite.

"The Refah party is sending out signals that it is no different from other parties," one of Turkey's most respected columnists, Mehmet Ali Birand, wrote last month. "Like other parties, it says one thing in opposition but adopts a different approach in government . . . Personally, I believe that this is highly encouraging for the future,"

What is at stake can scarcely be stressed too much.

Turkey has been a keystone of Western security policy, to an even greater extent that Iran was under he Shah. It has half a million men n the military and is viewed by the US and most of its allies as a bastion against nationalism in Russia, fundamentalism in Iran and potentially troublesome governments in Syria and Iraq. The scope for conflict were Turkey, like Iran, to "go Islamic" would be immense Yet Western diplomats seem

relaxed about Refah's arrival in government. They note that the party has been playing by the rules of Turkish democracy for 13 years. Its avuncular leader has been doing so for even longer. They argue that Refah is not fundamentalist but Islamist, and that, if a comparison is to be made, it should be with western Europe's Christian Democrats.

Despite repeated calls to the party's offices in Istanbul and Ankara, Refah was unable to provide a spokesman to discuss these points. But put them to Nilufer Narli and she purses her lips in incredulity. Dr Narli, an associate professor at Marmara university who has just completed a study of Refah's campus activities for the Ford Foundation, offers a definition of the party membership that would apply to fundamentalists elsewhere.

"An Islamist," she says, "is some-



the two should not be separated," She says Refah is an umbrella group that includes conservatives as well as radicals, but finds the parallel with Christian Democrats unconvincing. "Christian Democrats

conony," she says. Refah has played the democratic game for more than a decade. "But he real question is: are Refah's members ready for an 'historic compromise' with the system, like the one the Italian Communists aspired to, or are they practising tagiya the concealment of one's true aims for the welfare of Islam?"

She suspects the answer depends on the individual member, "Maybe Erbakan himself wants an historic compromise, but others...

Ersin Kalaycioglu, professor of political science at Bosphorus university, has examined Refah from a different position by studying its voters. He found it was strong among those opposed to the establishment:

poor and the lower middle-class craftsmen threatened by the ad vance of neo-liberal capitalism.

"The real difference between Refah voters and those of other parties was how they approached islanı," he says. "If you read Islamists" want regular elections, a multi-party newspapers, you'll see what they're system and a liberal, free-market telling their voters is: 'You haven't given us enough votes to govern alone. We have to act like this: Their argument is, 'Give us more

> Many secular Turks are worried that their country's allies are being lulled into wishful or muddled thinking by the Islamists' unexpected regard for Western interests, Last nouth, a spokesman for the US state department was quoted in the Turkish press as saying that what mattered to Washington was not whether a society was secular, but

whether it was democratic. "I ask myself: how can you have secularism without democracy? says an Istanbul journalist who asked not to be named. "Is there a single country in the world which is

Inmates are tortured, say jail doctors

Chris Nuttail in Ankara

ΛOSΓ doctors in Turkey who V examine detainees believe nearly everyone who is taken into custody is tortured, according to Physicians for Human Rights.

The group, based in Boston. Massachusetts, said doctors were unwilling accomplices to torture, coerced by police to cover up the physical evidence of abuse.

The results of its two-year investigation into torture in Turkey were published in the Journal of the American Medical Association last week. PHR interviewed physicians and torture victims, carried out a survey among 60 doctors who officially examine detainces and analysed more than 150 official medical reports on prisoners.

PHR said 96 per cent of doctors urveyed believed that torture was a problem in Turkey, while 60 per cent believed that nearly everyone who was detained was tortured. It said this was probably an underestimation, as 76 per cent did not consider beatings alone to amount to torture.

Its interviews with forensic doctors indicated that some had observed evidence of torture in the cases of hundreds, even thousands. of detainces in recent years.

"The Turkish police may respond to physicians' attempts to perform proper examinations of torture survivors with overt threats of physical harm to the physician, by destroying the medical reports, or by simply obtaining a favourable report from a more compliant physician," said Dr Vincent Jacopino, a co-author of the report. "Since physicians are state employees, they are vulnerable to threats that they will lose their posiions if they do not comply."

Torture victims complained of ductors sitting at a distance from them and failing to carry out a physical examination before recording in their reports that they found to evidence of injury.

The PHR report gives numerous accounts of torture from male and female victims, including suspension above the ground, beatings. sexual violations, testicle squeezing. electric shocks and spraying with cold, pressurised water.

In a letter sent with the report last week to the new prime minister. Necmettin Erbakan, PHR said; "We believe that your government has the unique opportunity to face the fact of torture in Turkey and eliminate the practice once and for all."

Mubarak urged to intervene in heresy case

Ben Faulks in Cairo

N Egyptian human rights' group has urged President Hosni Mubarak to intervene after the country's highest court upheld a ruling that a university professor must divorce his wife because he was deemed to have renounced Islam.

The decision last week by the Court of Cassation against Nasr Hamed Abu Zeid, aged 54, has sent shockwaves through the secular community, and it is likely to discourage moderate Muslims from entering main stream politics.

"This is a dark day for the

should be looked at within its legal system and shows the socio-political context, and extent of Islamist influence, said Abdel Aziz Mohammed chairman of the Egyptian Organ-isation for Human Rights and a In June 1995, a lower court defence lawyer in the case. ruled that Abu Zeid's writings on

Although the ruling cannot be appealed, the defence team said it would push the court to revise ts decision. The organisation urged Mr Mubarak to intervene immediately, "not only to protect Professor Abu Zeld but to defend the whole of Egyptian society". Mr Abu Zeid incensed hard-

line Islamiats when, as a profes-sor in Islamic studies at Cairo university, he said the Koran

Islamic teachings should evolve

religion "attacked" and "incited disrespect" for Islam, and ordered his divorce on the grounds that he was an apostate and therefore could not be married to a Muslim. The case was brought under hesba, a princi-ple of Islamic law allowing individuals to bring cases against those they feel have offended Islam.

Mr Abu Zeld, who fled to the Netherlands with his wife,

Ibtihal Younis, after the trouble erupted, contested the decision: The verdict had been widely

expected to be overturned.

Ms Younis said of the lawyers who brought the case: "They are the losers. They have outraged people who were neutral and in-flamed the world against them." The ruling had "no effect" on the couple because they intend to stay together, she said.

The Egyptian government, anxious at the number of such cases being brought to court, had passed legislation that meant hesba cases had to go through the state prosecutor's office. And in what was considered a convenient get-out clause for the Court of Cassation in the Abu Zeid case, the government had barred individuals from bringing cases unless they were directly involved in them. "The government provided a

technical way out, but the court refused to take it," said one human rights worker. The former chief of the state's high security court, Said al-Ashmawi, said the decision

"shows Egyptian justice no longer respects the law but is ruling on the basis of ideological trends". But Yussef al-Badri, who helped bring the case to court. said: "No one will dare to think about harming Islam again . . .

we have stopped an enemy of Islam from mocking our religion."



HE HIGH Court has ruled that the Home Secretary,

himself when he ordered the re-

turn to Hong Kong of 60-year-old

Ewan Launder, a businessman

who fears he could face the death

penalty if forced to stand trial on

£4.5 million bribery and cor-

ruption charge once the colony is

WO men were each given a

an attempted raid on a British

for East Timor.

Aerospace factory in support of

the four women who took ham-

mers to a Hawk aircraft destined

BRITAIN'S share of the bill for the Eurolighter has risen by a further £1.25 billion in

month in prison arising from

aken over by the Chinese.

in Brief

Chequebooks come out for story of 8-baby birth

treatment, medical confidentiality and chequebook journalism were revived by the revelation that a single mother, Mandy Allwood, was pregnant with octuplets and had been given fertility treatment without her boyfrlend's agreement. She had, moreover, sold her story to a Sunday newspaper for an estimated £100,000, and hired a PR man in the hope of raising another £1 million in newspaper and sponsorship payments.

Miss Allwood, who had previously had an abortion after an accident and a miscarriage last year, had been advised by doctors to have some of the eight embryos aborted so as not to risk losing them all and damaging her own health. But she decided to continue with the pregnancy, saying "the more the merrier". Her PR man. Max Clifford, said "market forces" were at work. "If she gives birth to seven or eight, there will be huge world interest. She will need every penny she can get."

The story - manna for the media in the August "silly season" - was also tailor-made for the voluble prolife lobby. Professor Jack Scarisbrick. of the Life organisation, was "delighted by her pro-life response to this challenge. There is no need for the surgeons to get their knives out."

But Dr Winifred Francis, the gynaecologist who delivered Britain's only septuplets, said the chances of a happy ending were slim. The seven Halton babies were delivered 26 weeks early and died within days of each other in 1987.

Medical experts were surprised that Miss Allwood had been given fertility treatment without the knowledge of her boyfriend. Most fertility clinics counsel potential parents as couples, and not individually.

The pro-lifers had enjoyed huge publicity the previous week, when doctors at a London hospital said that they were prepared to carry out an abortion on a woman pregnant with twins who, because of financial hardship, wanted only one of them. Pro-life groups raised more than £80,000 to help her, and went to court to try to stop the abortion, only to learn that the operation had been carried out a month earlier.

OR THE first time since Tony Blair became its leader, the Labour party was given reason to fear that it might - just might - fail to win the next general election. which is no more than nine months away. A Guardian-ICM poll survey showed a cut of three points in Labour's lead over the Tories in July. Labour's advantage has fallen in each of the last four months and stands at 12 points de its 21-point lead in April.

The survey showed Labour at 45 per cent (enough for a comfortable election victory); Conservatives at 33 (up 3) and the Liberal Democrats at 19 (down 2). Another poll, in the Daily Telegraph, also showed a 0.8 per cent fall in Labour support but had the party at 54 per cent, the Tories at 27 (up 0.9), and the Lib-Dems at 14 (down 0.5).

Both poils indicate that, if the Conservatives are recovering momentum, it is at the expense of the Lib-Dems. There are also signs that the "feel-good" factor, which some

THE MORAL and ethical arguments about abortion, fertility is returning in the high street and is returning in the high street and the housing market in time to bring

reach £1 billion.

killing of 16 children by a licensed gun-owner at Dunblane in Scotland s expected to recommend a ban on the ownership of handguns. In attempting to introduce a ban, however, the Government could find itself facing a tough battle with the large shooting lobby within its ranks.

vidual shooters would be entitled to full compensation, as would the owners of shooting ranges and gun clubs, and shooting-related businesses, which employ up to 10,000

ARD on the heels of the benefits fraud hotline — the "suitchers' line" launched last week by the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley - the Government is now planning another hotline for people who want to report dishonest employers. The benefits bottine attracted more than 12,000 calls in less than a week, but hundreds of them were from people reporting cheating employers. Many of the calls were about employers in small businesses, and involved National Insurance fraud, which costs an estimated £170 million a year.

SCHOOL-LEAVERS this week receive their A-level exam results, which determine whether or not they qualify to go on to university. There is evidence that nearly haif of those who qualify now choose to study close to home, and that one in 10 pulls out before accepting a university place.

Austin

THE PRESS RELEASES ARE COMING VERY CLOSE TOGETHER.

them electoral relief.

AS THE guns blazed out on the grouse moors in their annual pacan to the Glorious Twelfth, the Shooters' Rights Association was trying to head off handgun legislation by warning that the cost of compensating gun owners could

The Cullen inquiry into the

Shooters' Rights claims that indi-

Students find it cheaper to live at home. And most of those who decline a university place want to take a "year out" - usually to earn money — or opt to take their chances in the job market, since a degree is no longer a guarantee of

Witnesses said the driver and guard of the empty train threw hemselves out of the cab when The accident occurred on the

nimby reads: "The initial

letters of the alogan 'not in my

back yard', expressing objection

unpleasant, such as a nuclear waste dump, in one's own local-ity." Now "nuclear waste dump"

has been replaced by "opera" in the latest bout of nimbylsm,

to the siting of something

writes Dan Glaister.

open air opera.

The Local Government

Ombudsman ruled last week

Oxfordshire, should receive

that five residents of Garsington

£200 each in compensation for

noise pollution from the nearby

Villagers were divided over the ruling. Some saw it as a victory

for common sense, while others



Safety fears as trains collide

Quardian Reporters

AIL CRASH experts are trying to discover how two trains collided last week, killing a woman and injuring 69 people, four seriously.

Investigators have retrieved two aviation-style "black boxes" from the wreckage that could tell them what happened. It is thought to be the first time they have featured in a rail crash inquiry.

Railtrack said the investigation

would focus on why two trains were travelling on the same line. Initial reports said an empty southbound train was changing tracks south of Watford Junction. Hertfordshire, when it and a crowded 5.04pm from Euston to Milton Keynes collided Emergency services fought to release up to 40 passengers trapped

Experts said the empty train apneared to be correctly crossing to a safe track when the full passenger train struck it. They speculated that the latter either received a faulty signal or passed a warning signal.

they realised a crash was inevitable. main west coast line between London and Glasgow. Peter Rayner, a former BR manager who was in charge of the West Coast Main Line for six years, said:

be carried on to the track but most of the other people were able to "Because the track is owned by Railtrack, the trains are owned by someone else, and the driver employed by someone else, an inquiry is difficult to conduct because everyone

wants to protect their own interests. "There is no one railway authority to take its own inquiry and feed that to the Health and Safety Executive. They are all tainted with

Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, expressed "my deepest sympathies for the families of the dead and injured" and praised the rescue services. He pledged that the investigation findings would be

Witnesses smashed into the overhead power lines when the impact forced them off the rails. One injured passenger described how he was thrown across the carriage. Mick, a builder from Milton Keynes, said: "There was a huge bang and a crash as the wheels of another carriage came through the window. People were flying everywhere. When it stopped there was blood pouring down the faces of people near the broken window. Someone smashed the window of the emergency door but the overhead wires were wrapped round the train and sparking.

attacked it as the product of

Pensioner Michael Hudson,

manor, said: "On one occasion

the organisers actually had the

check to ask me to stop mowing

sound would carry so much that

I'm not against opera but the

we could bear it in our living

room. It's not just the perfor-

mances, the rehearsals can go

on all day and they practise the

same piece over and over again. But company director Clive

Holloway, aged 56, defended the

operat "The noise element has

been exaggerated," he said. "I live very close to the manor and

can rarely hear any noise. A lot

of people think opera is for

'Rich man's opera' pays out for noise

blind class prejudi

As they walked away, he said, they saw a carriage on its side. "We could see about 40 people in it. They could not get out but very soon firemen were there helping them."

The dead woman's body was retrieved four hours after the collision. Police named her as Ruth Holland, aged 54, books editor at the British Medical Journal.

British Transport Police said between 300 and 400 people were ravelling on the train.

Driver error later emerged as the most likely cause of the crash, after investigators spent a day trawling through the wreckage. • Fresh fears about safety on the

privatised rail network surfaced after five track workers removed from the site of a "near accident" at Britain's busiest rail junction were found to have bogus safety docu-The incident took place earlier

this month near Clapham Junction, and was detailed in Railtrack's internal daily incident log, leaked to the Labour party.

Men replacing coping stones
were put at risk when an engineers

train came on to the section of the line on which they were working-The driver was able to stop despite

mobs and that is why they are

for seven years. In 1994 the

owner, Leonard Ingrams, was fined £1,000 after being con-victed of causing noise pollution

in a case brought by the local

council. The conviction was

quashed in a crown court appe The ombudemen has found

South Oxfordshire district com

ignoring soundproofing restric-tions laid down when the sum-

mer season was given á licence.

He sald villagers suffered "obtrusive disturbance" and told the council to review its proce-

dures for granting a licence.

cil guilty of maladministration by

An open air opera festival has

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Documents confirm nuclear cover-up

Seumas Milne

HE Ministry of Defence faces the prospect of a humiliating retreat from its 44-year insistence that there has never been a nuclear weapons accident in Britain, after overwhelming evidence emerged last week of British and American atom bomb damage in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Government's attempts on Monday to explain away documen-tary evidence of an accident — contradicting years of MoD denials is unlikely to satisfy growing depands for a full account.

Labour and Liberal Democrats pressed the Government to come clean after the first confirmation that it has repentedly lied about atomic bomb accidents. The proof is from a 1959 accident report by 49 Squadron at RAF Wittering, which recorded that during "Exercise Mayflight" a "2,000lb British nuclear weapon was accidentally jetti-

Rebecca Smithers

and Seumes Milne

THE Tories look set to become

sleaze row this week when the cabi-

net minister William Waldegrave

faces allegations that he played a

key role in the "dirty tricks cam-

paign" against the Labour prime minister Harold Wilson in the 1970s.

Mr Waldegrave - Chief Finan-

cial Secretary to the Treasury and a

survivor of the "Arms to Iraq"

scandal — has been named by a

Channel 4 television documentary

as a "middle man" for senior Tories

who wanted to spread rumours

about the then Mr Wilson's private

life and MI5-inspired stories that he

The veteran spy journalist Chap-

man Pincher recalled in his 1978

memoirs that in the early spring of

1974 he learnt that the then Tory

leader Edward Heath wanted to

delay Wilson from calling a snap

election, fearing the Tories would

ose. Wilson had been elected with a

parliamentary minority and looked

ikely to be returned with a sizeable

was a KGB agent.

embroiled in a new pre-election

soned . . . severe damage resulted to the weapon".

An MoD spokeswoman said on

Monday that it was not yet clear whether such an accident had taken place. In any case it could not involve a nuclear weapon because such exercises never used live warheads. "It would have been an inert training round, or dummy," she insisted.

Other documents passed to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarma-ment (CND) show that government scientists believed another accident involving a US aircraft at Greenham Common in Berkshire in August 1957, had contaminated the sur-

rounding area with uranium.

The MoD initially stuck with its formula that "there has never been an accident involving damage to, or release of radioactivity from, a nuclear weapon in the UK". Challenged over the report of the Wittering accident — the kind of incident that government experts have accepted could detonate a nuclear

with an unnamed Tory intermedi-

ary; "I was put in touch with a Tory

party official, not now in Mrs

Thatcher's entourage, who told me

that the current thinking was that

any means of discouraging Wilson

from going to the country in June

"While the leadership still dis-

liked the whole idea of using

personal denigration, these were

Mr Pincher has now named Mr

Waldegrave - who was then Mr

Heath's chief of staff - as the

Mr Waldegrave was also a close associate of Lord Rothschild, who

introduced Mr Pincher to the "spy-

catcher" Peter Wright and was head

of the think tank Mr Waldegrave

The programme concedes that

Mr Heath may well not have known

of the approach to Mr Pincher, and

the former premier has written to

the programme-makers strongly

denying the allegations.
Harold Wilson was the target of a

series of smear campaigns in the

1960s and 1970s, which tried to use

USSR to brand him a Soviet agent.

served on in the early 1970s.

should be brought into play.

desperate times."

Alleged 'dirty tricks' against

Wilson return to haunt Tories

warhead directly — a spokesman said at the weekend that the depart-

ment never commented on leaked classified documents. But the Government's wall of silence started to crumble when it later emerged that the 37-year-old RAF log had already been declassified by the MoD itself and recently made available in the Public Record

John Reid, Labour's defence spokesman, warned that the Government was "digging itself into a deeper and deeper hole over this. rather than treating the British people as mature adults".
The revelations about US acci-

dents at the Greenham Common base, now closed, will heighten concerns about the cluster of lenkaemin cases in the Newbury area. The "excess incidence" of childhood leukaemia was first highlighted in a 1987 British Medical Journal study. The Government has reopened an investigation.

Last month, a secret 1961 report

13

by government scientists was leaked to CND. The scientists said the high concentrations of uranium around Greenham Common could have been caused only by damage to a nuclear weapon, and suggested a link with an aircraft fire at Greenham in February 1958. US authorities always denied the aircraft

carried an atomic bomb. The latest Greenham leaks show one of the most senior Aldermaston scientists, F D Morgan, attributed the contamination to another US nircraft fire in August 1957, and pinpointed uranium contamination.

Eddie Goncalves, CND's spokesman, called for a public inquiry into the contamination of the Greenham area, and a Royal Commission into the history of such accidents. It had been a "tale of deceit, cover-ups and a callous willingness to put innocent lives at risk", he said. According to CNII's sources, there have been at least 20 accidents in the UK - one as recently

spite of efforts to reorganise the our-nation aircraft project along more economical lines. The UK taxpayer's final bill is now expected to be £15.4 billion ENNETH HALL, a farmer

who shot a thief with a 12bore shotgun after seeing him stealing from his car, was found not guilty of causing grievous bodily harm with intent

WO women wrongfully arrested at Twyford Down during a demonstration against the construction of a motorway have won £17,000 damages from the police. Twenty women have now won civil actions over the demonstration.

TWO British teenagers, Sally Griffiths, aged 17, and each sentenced to five years in jail by a Morocenn court and fined £380 for possessing and trading 11lbs of cunnabis resin.

ABOUR has pledged to intro-- duce laws to force political parties to declare all donations over £5,000 as part of a crackdown on political funding.

HE British Medical Assoclation said that it would resist any move by MPs to make

doctors responsible for authenticating the mental stability of irearms applicants.

DETECTIVES investigating the rape and murder of a Plymouth teenager have asked to study DNA samples from the killer of Caroline Dickinson, who died on holiday in France nine said: "This is a port town with a ferry link to France. You can't ignore that sort of thing."

SIR NEVILL MOTT, the joint winner of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1977, has died at the

VONNE Irving, one of the Church of England's first women priests, has been killed in an accident while on holiday in Zimbabwe. She was 54.

MPs damn elderly care proposals

A TTEMPTS by ministers to defuse controversy over paypeople were last week humiliatingly brushed aside by a Conservativedominated committee of MPs. The Commons health select com

mittee said the Government's proposals for partnership schemes, whereby the state would match any private insurance cover for longterm care, would be "at best a useful part" of a broader package that required further thought.

In scathing comments about ministers' presentation of the consulta- cause of the Government's refusal tive proposals, launched with a fanfare in a green paper in May, the asked by the committee to do so. committee said: "We deprecate the | The MPs are even more damning | Government's failure to provide even of the Government's other main idea, over the next 25 years in the num-

enable people to avoid having to sell their homes to pay for long-term care by offering protection of assets in return for purchase of private insurance. A person who bought £40,000 insurance cover would get up to £60,000 protection on top of | funding are unfair - not least bethe £16,000 maximum available now.

The committee says in a report that while such schemes may benefit some people, it is impossible to make any proper judgement beto provide costings - even when

rough-and-ready costings of its vari- | that people should be allowed to op ous options. Until such costings are for a smaller initial occupations provided, the taxpayer is in effect | pension on retirement in return for a being invited to sign a blank cheque." | larger sum later that would be used The proposals are designed to | to fund any long-term care.

kept separate from any mechanism (or meeting care costs.

Although the committee acknowledges a widespread perception that arrangements for long-term care cause people do not see their home as an asset in the same sense as savings - it says that reports of a crisis in paying for such care are welcomed its call for a rethink o unsound or "downright alarmist".

Britain does not face as steep an increase in numbers of elderly

ber of over-85s is smaller than the rise between 1971 and 1994. While there are problems in

The crowd waves at Knebworth, where Oasis played to 125,000

fans undaunted by the rain. The band did, however, appear upset by

Manchester United's Charity Shield success; Loch 'n' roll, page 26

meeting care costs, such problems are "more manageable than many recent commentators have sug-gested" and it may be "both possible and affordable" to continue with the The report calls for pensions to be existing system. If change is considered, however, one option backed by the committee would be development of flexible equity-release schemes enabling people to use the value of their homes to pay for care while keeping them until they die.

The committee's report received a mixed reaction. Tessa Jowell, the Labour shadow health minister, Government proposals, saying: The Torles have cynically whipped up fears about a 'demographic time bomb' to justify their plans to pass people as do many other countries.

Moreover, the projected increase the costs of long-term care from the



HE year's most tense weekend of loyalist and republican parades in Northern Ireland ended with relief that the worst of the marching season is over.

Thousands of republicans ralled in Belfast on Sunday to commemorate the 25th anniversary of internment but heeded calls from the platform to disperse quietly. Security was tight and police kept flag-waving loyalists behind a cordon of armoured vehicles as the Sinn Fein supporters passed close to the Shankill Road.

The rally took place after sporadic overnight violence in Londonderry. An Apprentice Boys rally there on Saturday had threatened to plunge Ulster back into widespread violence, but the Protestant organisation defused the tension by which overlook Catholic Bogside.

Barbed wire, steel rods and concrete barriers blocked the route which 250 local members of the Apprentice Boys had hoped to walk. Beneath the contested stretch of wall lies the Bogside, where nation-alists also rallied in a dangerous game of showmanship which threatened to topple Northern Ireland back into serious violence.

But the mood in the city was oddly relaxed on Saturday morning, as if both sides had stepped back after a week of stormy negotiations, conscious of what was at stake. The Apprentice Boys made a symbolic but peaceful demonstration against what they claim is an attempt by the city's Catholic majority to strip them of their cultural heritage.

During the course of the Trou-

accepting a police ban on marching | bles, 16,000 of the city's Protestants | settlement of the annual marching along a stretch of the city's walls | have decamped and resettled in the | season crisis. "We uphold the right Waterside, Today, Londonderry effectively two chies.

Protestants believe the IRA's campaign of violence in Derry effectively ended some years before the 1994 ceasefire because the republicans had already achieved their goals. However, the parades issue opens up a new front. "It's a continuation of the war without guns by the IRA," said George Glenn, chairman of the Fountain Area Partnership.

Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, did not speak at the Belfast rally on Sunday beyond introducing the main address, delivered by Dodie McGuinness. Ms McGuinness, who was elected

to represent West Belfast in the May elections, concentrated on Sinn Fein's increasing electoral support

'Untouchable quangos paid £60bn a year season crisis. "We uphold the right of the loyal institutions to march but that does not include the right to march over anyone," she said. "We don't have to like what unionism rep-

Rebecca Smithers

esents . . . but we do not seek to de-

troy the heritage or culture of that

rotestant community."
Mr Adams later added: "It is not a

security problem, it is a political

problem. The annual crisis of mar-

ches can be resolved if there is a

proactive policy by the British gov-

He said the decision of the

Apprentice Boys' governor, Alistair

impson, to negotiate with Bogside

esidents "shows the stupidity and

bigotry of David Trimble's position"

not to talk to people in the Gar-

vaghy Road, Portadown, during last

month's stand-off with the Orange Order at Drumcree.

ON-ELECTED quangos account for one-third of all central government spending while the people who run them are an "untouchable" and secretive élite according to a report last week.

Despite the Conservative Gov ernment's pledge to reduce the umbers, powers, and costs of the bodies when it came to power in 1979, the report lists 6,424 executive and advisory quangos which together spent £60.4 billion in 1994-1995 — a 45 per cent increase in their spending in real terms over he last 17 years.

The Untouchables, published by the Democratic Audit and the Scarman Trust, says there are now 5,750 top-tier "executive" quangos in Britain — one for every 10,000 people. Yet the Government recogises only 301 of these in its officia 'quango count"

It draws the distinction between executive quangos, which are direct instruments of government policy and deal with issues such as education, public housing, and health care, and advisory quangos, which form a "near invisible layer of gov-

There are 674 advisory quangos that give advice for ministerial dis cussion and legislation.

The authors of the report Wendy Hall and Stuart Weir Essex university — calculate that there are between 66,000 and 73,500 people who run quangos, nearly all of them appointed by the Government or self-appointing.

Ms Hall said: "The Nolan commit

tee's proposals on vetting members of quangos only scratch at the "Britain's quangos are among the

most secretive and undemocratic in

the Western world, and they ur

gently require reform. The great majority of the public want to make

are non-white. Only 34 per cent of children of black Caribbean descent are living with a married man and woman, 54 per cent are with a lone mother. By contrast, 90 per cent of children from Asian communities are with a married couple.

O POLICE officer will be custody of Shift Lapite, a Nigerian asylum seeker whom a jury decided was unlawfully killed, writes Dunoan Campbell. Last week's decision came in

the same week as it was announced that there would be no prosecution relating to Wayne Douglas, the man whose death in custody sparked the Brixton riots of last December. It also follows a verdict of misadventure by an inquest jury on Brian Douglas (no relation), who died after being struck by a new-style

dation after being put in a neckhold when arrested on suspicion of possessing drugs in December 1994. His family is said to be considering a private The Metropolitan Police

publicly expressed its regret at Brian Douglas's death, the first nvolving the new baton, and

Mr Douglas's brother said the

after a Guardian poll showed the to do with that, vote for us.' One, Labour lead ebbing away. Although that is a lie. And two, it's dangerous. she named no names, her comments were clearly aimed at Mr Blair's inner advisers, including Peter Mandelson and Alastair Campbell, who have been accused of briefing against her to journalists. The creation of "focus groups" where selected voters give their opinion to the party has been one of Mr Mandelson's key strategies. In a swipe at their activities, Ms

Short said: "I sometimes call them the people who live in the dark. Everything they do is in hiding."

She added: "These people are

making a terrible error. They think that Labour is unelectable, so they want to get something else elected, even though really it is still the Labour party. This is a dangerous game, which assumes people are "My life opportunitles were

brought to me by Labour and what they are now doing is allowing the Tory propaganda version of Labour to be reality. They are saying Vote for Tony Blair's New Labour. We all agree the old one was appalling and you all know that most of the people Labour are really the old ones. but we've got some who are nothing

I think they are profoundly wrong," Ms Short described Mr Blair as two people — one likeable figure, the other a Frankenstein creation of

the "people in the dark". "Tony and I had a get-together last night. I had a talk with nice Tony Blair. I really like that one. I think that's the real one." Of the other, the macho, figure, she said: I think he comes out in the dark."

She also expressed alarm at the way the shadow cabinet conducts business in private. "I've had this experience of some people who are meant to be on my side, one of whom I thought was a really good friend, being dishonest and trying to damage me. If you don't expect it it's shocking."

Conservative party chnirman Brian Mawhinney said of the article: "Clare Short has made it clear that the leadership of the Labour party hate each other and do not trust each other or Mr Blair. She is to be commended for her honesty."

Mr Prescott last week finally won battle to silence Mr Mandelson. Mr Prescott, in charge of the party while Mr Blair is on holiday, said he, rather than Mr Mandelson, who is

Short attacks Blair's 'men in the dark' head of the media unit, should han-dle the rift caused by their

Mr Prescott conceded that Ms Short's interview had been a gift to the Conservatives. "She is giving a great deal of ammunition to the Tory party and as someone who is concerned to see that the Labour party wins the next election, I can't be happy about that," he told BBC

Mr Prescott was keen, however to be seen to refute one of Ms Short's points - that Mr Mandelson was too influential in presenting Labour to the media. Mr Mandelson, while continuing to brief, last week seemed to be conceding he must be seen to defer.

Ms Short's interview caught the whole party by surprise. Mr Prescott had to cancel his return to his constituency to respond when he saw a BBC television news report of her attack. A decision was taken later to play down the uffair and not to sack Ms Short from her new post.

Later in the week in a move clearly co-ordinated with Mr Blair's office. Ms Short Issued a statement echoing Mr Blair's that the interview had been blown out of propor-

tion. "There are no policy differences between us and I strongly support Tony Blair's lead-

Scientists test vaccine to beat cancer

Chris Mihill

ANCER scientists last week sald trials of a vaccine that could beat cervical cancer are to start shortly. Researchers are also looking for

commercial backing to test a vaccine that could prevent glandular fever as well as a number of cancers associated with it.

A report from the Cancer Research Campaign says between 10 and 15 per cent of all cancers worldwide are linked to some form of virus, and it is probable that other viruses yet to be identified could rigger other forms of the illness.

identifying viruses as a cause of cancer opens the way for the development of vaccines, either as a form of treatment to boost the immune system of the cancer victims or, in some cases, to prevent the disease.

Lesley Walker, the campaign's head of information, said five viruses had been definitely linked to cancer and work was under way to find methods of countering these. Early human trials had started

using a vaccine against the HPV virus, which can trigger cervical cancer, and these studies were to be extended later this year.

Dr Walker said the campaign was ooking for a commercial partner to test a vaccine it has developed against the Epstein-Barr virus (EBV), which causes a range of cancers and also glandular fever. In Africa, EBV in combination

with malaria can produce a cancer of the lymph system in children known as Burkitt's lymphoma. It is also believed to be a trigger for a nasal cancer common in China, and is increasingly being linked to a l common form of lymph cancer. Hodgkin's disease.

The virus is also a cause of lymph concer in patients who have undergone bone marrow or organ transplants, because their immune system is suppressed.

would also stop glandular fever. The virus was carried by most people, and usually held in check by the immune system. Most picked it up as babies where it caused few symptoms, but among teenagers not exposed in infancy, it could trigger glandular fever.



On yer blke . . . Protesters from the anti-car pressure group Reclaim The Streets surround motorists in them legally open and accountable. It is time MPs of all parties London's rush hour to show solidarity with striking Underground drivers

PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW TESTA

Redwood call to end Royal Mail's monopoly

Seumas Milne

THE Government's efforts to exploit the postal strikes for political advantage were upstaged last week when the rightwing Tory leadership hopeful John Redwood called a same-day service for existing cusfor the temporary suspension of the Royal Mail's letter monopoly to be made permanent.

As the postal workers' national programme of one-day strikes resumed and London Underground drivers had a seventh stoppage, Mr Redwood's plea for full deregulation party over the post and Underwas taken up by the parcels delivery firm White Arrow.

Echoing the views of the other main private courier companies -TNT, UPS and DHL - a spokes woman for White Arrow sald it was "simply not a commercial reality" to take advantage of a temporary letter monopoly suspension, even if the current one month was extended to

She said if the monopoly was permanently removed, there was a strong possibility that the firm would "get into letter post in a big | in their employees' support for inway". She refused to comment on dustrial action, with 14,000 working

what discussions the company had | on the morning shift - about 15 per had with government.

Another private delivery service, City Post, claimed to be the first tomers in London during the Communication Workers' Union's fourth 24-hour stoppage in the dispute over working conditions.

The intervention by Mr Redwood threatened to undermine ministers' ground disputes and drew an irritable response from the President of the Board of Trade, Ian Lang, who was forced to warn against the potential threat to the universal price and delivery service from full-scale deregulation. He had earlier dropped broad hints about the likelihood of new Post Office break-up and privatisation proposals featur-

ing in the forthcoming Conservative Post Office managers last week claimed the first significant cracks

cent of those eligible — compared with 11,000 on the last strike day in July. The CWU disputed the figures. Management is sending a copy of last month's rejected agreement to each of the 130,000 delivery and

sorting workers. Meanwhile underground union eaders last week revealed a deal they had offered London Transport, that traded three years of belowinflation pay settlements for a 35-

It was rejected as too expensive by managers, who are also refusing to make a one-hour cut in the working week to 37% hours that the unions insist was agreed last year.

But this week's eighth tube strike, scheduled for Tuesday, was called off at the last minute as unions agreed to vote on new proposals. The unions decided to recommend the new offer to their drivers. Acceptance of the deal would mean an end to the twomonth dispute. There are four more one-day strikes scheduled.

Gay rage over 'cures'

THE gay pressure group OutRage last week called on the Department of Health to compensate gay men who had been subjected to aversion ther-apy to "cure" their homosexuality, writes Chris Mihill.

The procedure involved electric shocks or nausea-inducing drugs while patients were shown

The treatment occurred in the 1960s and 1970s but OutRage said many men were left with lasting psychological damage. The group said that some who underwent the treatment were as young as 14, and at least one man died as a result.

OutRage has written to the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, urging him to set up a inquiry and to establish how nany gay men had been harmed by the treatment. It wants comensation for those damaged, and a ban on use of theraples aimed at "curing" homosexuality

Blacks and Asians still at social disadvantage

David Brindle

David Hencke

LARE SHORT, the contro-

leader's advisers of jeopardising a

Labour victory at the general elec-

tion and threatening its existence.
"If we don't win, it will be the end

of Labour as a party of power at

least for a generation, if not for

ever," she said in an interview in the

"I think the obsession with the

media and the focus groups is

making us look as if we want power

at any price and that we don't stand

for anything. And the people who think Tony has got to look very strong are making him less attractive than he is. This is a very stupid

Ms Short, demoted in Mr Blair's

shadow cabinet reshuffle last

month, said: "He came along as a

fresh, young, principled and decent

man and some people are trying to

turn him into macho man. I know

they are doing it because they think

it is the way to win, but I think

they're making the wrong judgement

Labour was clearly distressed by

and they endanger our victory."

New Statesman magazine.

versial shadow cabinet min-

ister, last week accused her

BLACK and Asian people remain lisadvantaged on most main social and economic indicators, an official report suggests.

Some groups, notably Indians, are doing relatively well in areas such as education and home ownership, but ethnic minorities generally fare worse than whites on grounds of unemployment, pay, housing, or

The report, Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities, is published by the Office for National Statistics and is a compilation of data mostly in the public domain already. Until recently there was official reluctance to collect statistics broken down by

More than 3 million people, just under 6 per cent of the population,

households own or are buying their own homes, compared with 36 per cent of Bangladeshi and 40 per cent of black households.

Short shrift . . . party advisers

Labour leader John Prescott said: "I

am saddened to read what Clare

Short has said. I am sure some of

her remarks will be blown up out of all proportion. And, as she will agree with me, the Tories remain

the real enemy at whom we should

In education, Asian children de better at GCSEs than all other groups, including whites. At age 18, 65 per cent of Indians, 61 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, 72 per cent of other Asians and 50 per cent of blacks are in full-time education. compared with 38 per cent o whites. But, unemployment is far higher among all minorities than among whites.

On pay, average hourly full-time rates are as low as £4.78 for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women, com pared with £6.59 for white women and only £6.87 for Pakistani Bangladeshi men, against £8.34 for

All minority groups are statisti cally more likely than whites to be victims of both personal and prop erty crimes. But, the report points inner city areas, where most blacks

Police not charged over deaths

police baton in May last year. The Crown Prosecution

Service said no officer would be Lapite, who died, aged 34, of

said it would study recommendations on baton use.

verdict was a "gross injustice" and that the family would consider a private prosecution.



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SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS about nuclear accidents on British soil in the 1950s have once again been brushed aside by the Ministry of Defence. This time it can be shown that the MoD is telling whoppers. Last month, it admitted that two Aldermaston scientists had suggested, 35 years ago, that nuclear contamination in the Newbury area was probably caused by a fire in a loaded nuclear bomber — but said the scientists were wrong.

More detailed evidence, obtained by Campaign for
Nuclear Disarmament, now shows that the accident — at Greenham Common in August 1957 was a matter of record and that the nuclear fallout, in the view of one of the most senior weapons scientists at Aldermaston, betrayed the chemical "signature" of a US bomb. But, the MoD flatly denies the contents of documents whose authenticity it does not, however, dispute.

Two areas of immense concern are raised by these reports and the equivocal, tight-lipped response to them in Whitehall. The first is a straightforward matter of public health. People who live near Aldermaston and Greenham Common, and those living near other civilian or military sites where nuclear material was used or stored around the country, want to know whether they are safe. The high incidence of leukaemia close to the Greenham Common base forms a suspicious "cluster"; it can only be properly investigated if the fullest information on all previous incidents is made available. The Department of Health's own investigation in 1989 was denied access to the evidence - it has now been re-opened. The problem is compounded as former military bases are returned to public use and the risk of exposure is

The MoD has told a palpable untruth in at least one important aspect of this affair. It has consis tently denied that any accident "involving damage" to a nuclear weapon has taken place in the UK. Apart from the Greenham Common accident as reported close to the time by the Aldermaston scientists, we now know of at least one other incident: a 2,000lb nuclear weapon was "accidentally jetti-soned" from the bomb-bay of a plane at RAF Wittering in 1959, "severe damage resulted to the weapon upon hitting the hard standing". Severe means severe, not a dent or a scratch, which might allow the MoD to shrug off the incident. The information comes discosts from the October. mation comes directly from the Operations Record Book of the base commander — in a document declassified, perhaps inadvertently, by the MoD itself and obtained by CND from the Public Records Office. Is it now going to say that the base commander, like the Aldermaston scientists, had made a mistake? Only a full disclosure of the facts can allay public concern.

We are also entitled to ask how many other inci dents of a deniable nature remain to be exposed. All this will be justified by "national interest", but the argument for Britain becoming a nuclear power was also conducted in secrecy. Greenham Common is not remote history; the safety risk will be with us as long as Britain has nuclear weapons. And how long will that be?

Russia staggers at the start

ORIS YELTSIN is in trouble of all kinds: last week's presidential inauguration provided few clues to the most personal one - his shaky state of health. Was shifting the ceremony from outside in cutting measure - or was it really a device to save Mr Yeltsin (who has not been seen in public for six weeks) from more than the minimum effort? If the motive was financial, it can only be a miniscule gesture. Last month, the IMF suspended its latest loan disbursement, citing Moscow's failure to collect taxes. The finance ministry revealed that the federal Russian government has collected only 63 per cent of the planned tax intake for the first half of the year. And the economics minister says that he is considering putting off some of Mr Yeltsin's extravagant campaign promises — for more social spending and support for domestic industry - in says he is going for gold. The polls can now be an effort to bring down the budget deficit. This is expected to show some improvement in the warm

the defence sector, where the government falls to pay for work done so that the factories cannot pay their debts — or even their workers. The latest headline case concerns a nuclear submarine main-tenance plant in the Russian Far East, whose au-sets have been seized by the local water company

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of postelection Russia is the calmness with which a grim situation is accepted on all sides. Foreign economic advisers stick to their familiar view that things must get worse before they get better. (Some claim to see signs already of an underlying improvement). Foreign governments try to pretend that Mr Yeltsin's state of health is not deeply disturbing. The mafia-ridden nature of Soviet society is taken for granted, and in some quarters even interpreted as an ugly but inescapable feature of the shift towards a fully marketised economy. Mr Yeltsin's election pledges are acknowledged to have been almost entirely phoney and yet everyone is resigned to the result. The latest bloodshed in Chechenia - where he claimed to be promoting peace — is the most blatant example. Much of the Russian electorate seems to accept the deception, though the Communist Party, now painfully reconstituting itself as the People's Patriotic Union, may offer a chance for second thoughts at the regional

None of this necessarily means that we should predict any dramatic upheavals in the near future. Societies have a remarkable capacity for survival under adverse circumstances, and Russia has become used to making the best of the worst. Mr Yeltsin has his own theory on what is needed and has appealed for suggestions on a "national idea to unite all Russians". That is really alarming: the only ideologies around would make things even

Dole and Kemp go for gold

WHEN A CANDIDATE for the US presidential election has lagged as far behind as Bob Dole, he has to resort to desperate measures like being honest. Asked what impelled him to the 11th hour choice of Jack Kemp as his running mate, he replied with one word: "Winning!" It is a sign of Mr Dole's troubles that the choice of a potential vice-president — a position traditionally not worth that famous bucket of warm spit — has acquired such importance.

At the least, Mr Kemp has given the US media something to tug and tease into shape. He is nothing if not a communicator, though not of the most disciplined kind, and he is never short of a word, though sometimes too long on them. There could be a real problem that he may show up Mr Dole's own rhetorical deficiencies and lack of voter appeal. It may also be hard to avoid the exposure of discrepancies on policy, however firmly Mr Dole has already lectured him on the need to remember that he is only No 2. Yet if he succeeds, he should go further than his boss to fulfilling the promise to take the Republican campaign "to every commu-nity and every neighbourhood".

Choosing a running mate who speaks on another wavelength is no novelty: Mr Dole's motive for doing so is transparent too. It is not so much that the two candidates differ on a range of issues where Mr Kemp takes a somewhat (although not always consistently) more liberal view. It is that the more conservative Mr Dole finds himself running a campaign which to potential voters looks even further to the right by many degrees. It is more than a shade humiliating to have to welcome the offer of a truce from Pat Buchanan. Attempts to not, in fact, have increased as much patch in a few moderate speakers to the conven- as people fear; but the conse were offset by the manner in which two influ- quences of losing such a job are when a majority in the workplace ential state governors were warned off from more devastating than they have speaking in favour of abortion. Mr Kemp is less of a moderate than he will now be portrayed: he has been described as an arch-conservative who makes conservatives uneasy. But he does call for the empowerment of the poor (through the marketplace), does not slam the unions or denounce affirmative action, and is opposed to cutting down government services for immigrants. In atyle as relied on by the Tories as a source

— to rather than through people. Mr Dole has called for an Olympic campaign and unlikely to help solve the debt cycle, which has glow of a convention "success". Mr Kemp may win already hit a great deal of industry particularly in a few medals, but will it be enough?

Raise the banner higher than ever

John Gray argues that in an economic culture of pervasive insecurity, trade unions have a vital role

RE TRADE UNIONS obso-A lete? The proposals by Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade, are an authentic embodi ment of the economic philosophy of the new Right, in which unions are regarded as anachronistic impediments to the efficiency of the labour market.

Lang has proposed ending that long-standing immunity from claims for damages which is granted to unions engaged in lawful publicsector strikes. This immunity has been a fixed point in the legal framework of British industrial relations ever since the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 overturned the House of Lords decision in 1901 to allow the Taff Vale Railway Company to sue the railwaymen's union for damages caused through strikes. If they are ever enacted, Lang's

proposals will return us to the era of the Taff Vale judgment. Unions such as Aslef and the RMT, which are involved in the current rail dispute, will be liable for potentially colossal damages, and subject to se questration of their assets if they do not, or cannot, pay. In another twist in the New Right ratchet effect, the right to strike will have been effectively removed from 5 million public sector workers. Britain will enter the new millennium with a fin-desiècle Victorian labour market.

In part, these proposals are merely pre-election gambits, aimed at Tony Blair. They apply the now familiar Tory strategy of confronting the Labour leader with policies that are designed to force him to choose between losing electoral support and risking conflict within his party. The current rash of strikes is undoubtedly a factor favourable to the Conservatives in the deliberations of many voters; but the suggestion of another massive assault on trade unions may actually alienate some wavening Tories. In a time of deep anxiety about job security, unionbashing is not the sure-fire votewinner it was in the 1980s.

The Tories have not understood that the climate of economic insecurity, in conjunction with the deep changes that the unions themselves have undergone, has wrought a transformation in public attitudes. People who live in fear of losing their jobs are unlikely to regard unions as the chief obstacle to their prosperity. The likelihood of losing an old-fashioned tenured job may been for generations.

The widespread perception that if you lose your job you risk losing everything is, in present circum-stances, entirely reasonable. This is not an economic environment in which anti-union sentiment can be well as policy, he can also speak — unlike Mr Dole
— to rather than through people.

What the electorate is telling the pollaters is that, in an economic culture of pervasive insecurity, trade unions have a vital role. They are valuable intermediary institutions

standing between wage-earners and the uncertainties and potential nequity of the free market.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 18 1998

Protecting employees from the worst insecurities of the free market was the original rationale of trade unionism. The unions' role as a defence against insecurity accounted for their strong growth in the 1880s. a period not unlike our own in its enormous economic inequalities and unregulated labour market. Now, as then, trade unions are Indispensable defenders of elementary economic rights for millions of people,

This does not mean that the unions can — or should — hope to return to the position they occupied in the 1970s. In European countries such as France and Germany, which have not been subject to a long period of neo-liberal policy, membership of trade unions has nevertheless fallen steeply. Even in Britain, the decline in union membership since the late 1970a from more than half the workforce to around a third probably arises as much from developments in technology, production and world trade as from policies such as privatisation and the outlaw ing of closed shops.

The shrinkage of mass manu facturing and the growth of leaner modes of production, together with the practices of outsourcing and in ternational transfer of jobs that an made possible by new technologies, all tend to reduce the leverage of trade unions over employers. It is this new economic environment o advancing globalisation, even more than the reforms of the 1980s, that rules out any return to the old

F TRADE unions are to protect the economic security of their members in an age of rapid technological change and enhanced global competition, they will need to do more than defend jobs. In collabora tion with employers and governmen they will need to support a sustained effort to reakill the workforce.

The adversarial industrial culture of Thatcherite capitalism, in which the unions are constantly put on the defensive, has not helped them view firms as enterprises in whose effi ciency they have a real stake. Yet the future for the unions cannot b n resistance to change. It must be n enabling their members to cope

What the unions need now is the opposite of Ian Lang's atavistic proposals. They need an accepted enables them to develop freely as autonomous institutions. Labour is committed to enacting a minimum wage, joining up to the European Union's Social Chapter and giving wants it. These commitments are es sential if we are to move forward from the neo-Victorian industrial cu ture that Labour stands to inheri from the Tories.

Will they be an adequate re sponse to the new anxieties of people at work? As globalisation and economic insecurity advance together throughout the world, overturning the free-market consensus and shattering political settlements how Labour deals with the fears that have transformed public attitudes to the unions may determine its fate in government

Le Monde

Bosnia's Croats flaunt their power

Rémy Ourdan in Moster

EITHER the Yugoslavs nor the outside world the poor and parched region of Herzegovina, the southwestern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, until war broke out in the former Yugoslavia live years ago.

Only the town of Mostar could lay any claim to fame, with its Stari Most (Old Bridge), a marvellous example of Ottoman architecture spanning the beautiful Neretva river. But in the five years that it has

been under Croat rule, Herzegovina has sprung to life. Sleepy villages that no one had ever heard of, such as Grude, Siroki Brijeg and Posusje, have played a prominent role in the war. The region has succeeded in building itself up into a power that is able to exert political, military and financial influence on the Zagreb regime. It has also played a key role n the fate of Sarajevo. With Croatia's backing, the

self-proclaimed mini-republic of Herzeg-Bosna became a leading player in the conflict and an important partner in the peace process. I had a great deal in common with the Republica Srpska of the Pale-based ultranationalist Serbs: it grew out of a similar determination to divide the Bosnian communities and open up the way to unification with a neighbouring state.

Herzeg-Bosna pursued a policy of terror and ethnic cleansing. It destroyed cultural identities and shattered the previously untroubled existence of the local population. Symbolic of that policy was the de-





truction of Mostar's old bridge in November 1993. It set up concentraion camps, where Muslims were Dretel, Gabela and Rodoc are names that conjure up chilling nemories of the recent past.

Serbs, too, were persecuted in Herzegovina and expelled from heir homes. Mosques, Orthodox churches and houses occupied by non-Croats were razed to the ground. The Croats' sole failure was in Mostar, where they had to make do with only half the town.

The other weapon available to the Herzegovina Croats was cash. Against all expectations, Herzeg-Bosna has become the richest region in the former Yugoslavia.

Most of its money comes from its system of "customs dues". During the war and even today, the Croats take a cut on all products going into Bosnia. They earn millions of dollars from legal trading, and more from trafficking.

Bosnian Muslims had no weapons when the conflict began. The authorities in Herzegovina have also shamelessly "taxed" foreigners and sometimes even humanitarian nid

revenue from Medjugorje, the site of an apparition of the Virgin Mary, which attracts hundreds of thousands of Western pilgrims every year. Souvenir shops there sell not ust statuettes of Jesus but badges of the Ustashi, the Croatlan pro-Nazi novement of the forties.

This considerable wealth has enabled the Herzegovina authorities to help the Croatian president, Franjo ludiman, to extend his country's borders at the expense of Bosnia.

They have made extensive contributions to the defence of Croatia and the financing of Tudiman's party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). When the people of Herzegovina were called upon to fight in Slavonia or Krajina, they were willing. And they were always lourished in the region — the prepared to loosen their purse-

Croatia or to buy arms from abroad. Herzegovina's financial clout

enabled it to place its people in the Zagreb administration. In the defence ministry, Gojko Susak, who Herzeg-Bosna gets additional was born in Siroki Brijeg, helped Tudjman to draw up the borders of "Greater Croatia". Last November voters in Herzegovina enabled the HDZ to obtain a majority in the roatian parliament. Herzegovina's influence has

grown steadily over the years. Many nembers of the Croatian diaspora who made their money in Australia, Canada or South America hail from the region. The men of Herzeg-Bosna who threw their weight into the war effort and became influential within the HDZ subsequently invested in Croatia.

They have also invested along the Dalmatian coast from Zadar to Dubrovnik. The tourist industry in that area is set to become highly

close ties between Zagreb and Herzegovina over the past five vears sometimes wonder who controls whom. The village of Grude, which the first "president" of Herzeg-Bosna, Mate Boban, chose as his "capital", sometimes appears o play a key role in Zagreb's deci-

In 1993, Susak and Boban were often to be seen at Zagreb's Inter-Continental hotel flaunting their power. The financial clout of their region secured them key posts in Fudjman's war cabinet. Diplomats tend to see the republic of Herzeg-Bosna as a mafia-like organisation But if it contains mafia elements they are perfectly integrated into the republic's military and political

Boban, who had been charged with "crimes against humanity" and barred from political activities, was appointed head of major corporations, such as the oil company had and Croatia Airlines. Equally predictable have been Tudjman's frequent tributes to the valiant Croats of Herzegovina.

However, the people of Herzegovina are not completely free agents — through the HDZ, Zagreb keeps a tight control on the region's politics. But their main allegiance is to those of their leaders who are based in the Croatian capital, particularly Susak. The long-term aim of Herzeg-Bosna is to be united with its motherland.

Herzegovina's hour of glory struck in August 1995, after centuries of oblivion, when Zagreb reconquered Krajina. The man who stood proudly on Tudjman's right as he kissed the Croatian flag on the heights of the fortress of Knin was Susak. The ceremony was intended as a tribute not only to the army, but dso to Herzeg-Bosna.

Tudjinan then paraded before enthusiastic crowds in Zagreb. The only man allowed to stand next to him in the presidential car was once again Susak. Tudjman stressed how grateful he was to Susak for his part in the victory of "Greater Croatia".

That day, all the Croats of Herze-

govina felt as if they, too, were standing next to the president. Needless to say, they have never been overly enthusiastic about the Muslim-Croat federation.

(August 8)

Scandinavians fear being saddled with Baltics' security

Our correspondent

WHEN he visited the White VV House on August 6, the Swedish prime minister, Göran Bill Clinton on issues relating to | ardise the flimsy edifice they are nia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and the enlargement of Nato. Their talks reflected the impor-

tance the United States administration attaches to an issue that has far wider implications than the state of bilateral relations with Stockholm, which could not be rosier at the moment. What really interests Washington is the problem of security in countries bordering on the Baltic sea.

The diplomatic moves and coun- also some of their neighbours. The termoves that have been going on | countries that have most to lose between Moscow, Washington and from the process are the three the Europeans in the course of their | Baltic states, which are in danger of efforts to hammer out new security being isolated in a grey area on the structures following the fall of the confines of northern Europe — and

Berlin Wall entered a more concrete phase after the re-election of President Boris Yeltsin.

The time has now come for the various parties to put their cards on the table, make decisions and envisage concessions so as not to jeop-

has been mobilising the energies of former Soviet-bloc countries, one or two favourites have begun to edge ahead of the rest of the field. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are expected to form part of the first batch of new members -as carly as 1997.

It is a prospect that worries not only the probable runners-up, but being isolated in a grey area on the

under the watchful eye of their Russian neighbour.

That is a scenario Stockholm and Helsinki want at all costs to avoid: they fear that in future they may be anded with responsibilities towards the Baltic states which they are unwilling to shoulder.

In the race to join Nato, which | in his talks with Clinton, while at the same time outlining the advantages the Baltic states would enjoy by joining the European Union in the near

It seems, however, that Washington would welcome an increased commitment by Sweden and Finland on the matter of regional security.

The US will have to make concessions to appease Russia, which regards any enlargement of Nato that includes its immediate neighbours as a threat to Moscow's security.

Official sources in both Stockholm and Helsinki stress that any

their part is out of the question, particularly because the Balts theniselves are against the idea.

At the same time the Clinton ad ninistration accepts that some kind of gesture in the direction of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will be nec essary - both to reassure them designs on those republics - if they are left out of a European-wide security deal. A recent report, thought to be a

blueprint for the State Department's new policy on Baltic security, argued that Estonia, which has gone further along the road to reform than its neighbours, should enjoy a status similar to that of Sweden and Finland — that is to say membership of the EU and increased co-operation with Nato within the framework of "partnership for peace".

In one respect, this approach is in line with the policy advocated by prime minister, Paavo Lipponen. additional security undertaking on Stockholm, which wants to see

security strengthened in the Baltic sea region by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joining the EU.

Despite divergences of opinion within the EU, Persson has made this policy one of his hobby-horses since taking over leadership of the Social-Democrat government in March. The key notion of his policy is

"gentle security", a strategy aimed at involving the Balts as closely as operation in such areas as nuclear safety, customs and the fight against organised crime. But the Swedish and Finnish governments have stated that they will totally respect the Baltic states' right to decide on their own security and to apply for

Nato membership. Several senior Finnish officials believe that the possibility of Finland joining the alliance - unthink able only a few years ago - should now be examined. But that has been ruled out by both President Martii Ahtisaari and the Social Democratic

(August 8)

Zapatistas seek to end 'pockets of oblivion'

Catherine Bédarida attends an international

conference in Chiapas and, right, talks to the rebel group's leader.

Subcomandante Marcos

N THE course of an international meeting against ncoliberalism organised in various Chiapas villages last week, the Zapatista leader, Subcomandante Marcos, claimed that the mountains of southeast Mexico were one of the "nockets of oblivion" to which the neoliberals had consigned human beings whom they regarded as

Around 3,000 participants from 42 countries, many of them French, Spanish and Italian, attended the event. They ranged from the Argentine "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" group and representatives of Brazil's Movement of the Landless to internationale-singing would be Marxist guerrilleros and militants from voluntary and Catholic organisations. For a tew days they experienced the life of the Indians at first hand, sharing their meagre rations and having to make do without electricity, telephones or paved roads.

Wooden amphitheatres were spe-cially built in five different villages so that discussions could be held on politics, economics, social issues, culture and ethnic minorities. Using sometimes rather fired arguments. delegates denounced the way that women, indigenous people and the poor were being oppressed and

Stalls sold everything from books coloured Zapatista scarves and Trot-

Jean-Pierre Tuquol in Ségou

T HE Office du Niger, a company based in the Malian town of

Segou, encapsulates much of the history of 20th century black Africa.

It was set up by the French colonial

power in the twenties to exploit land

watered by the Niger river, supply

France with cotton and, if need be

produce rice that would help eradi-

cate famine in French West Africa.

The government appointed a young civil engineer, Emile Bélime, to run

the company. He had shown that a

huge alluvial plain in French Sudan

(present-day Mali) could be irri-

The project required a big dam

and 100km of canals to be built.

Money was no problem, at least to

start with. It was provided by

France. Labour was recruited on

the spot, and by force. These "vol-

unteers" later became soldiers in

Dramane Diarra, who lives in a

building project. "In 1940 there was

a raid on our village," he remem-

bers. "I was 21 and my wife was

pregnant. French soldiers rounded

up all the young men and told us we

France to fight the Germans or stay-

ing here to build the dam." Diarra

does not regret the years he spent

village near Ségou, is one of the few and France kept on pouring money

had to choose between going to | The Office du Niger hardly did

in forced labour on the Markala | cided on every aspect of its manage-

dam project. "I'm proud of the dam | ment, right down to rice and cotton

into the project

the French Colonial Army.

gated through mere gravitation.



Marcos and his supporters are trying to end their geographical and political isolation

skyist magazines to cans of Coca-Cola and snacks wrapped in maize | members of the Zapatista National | Zapatista army and its sympathisers, some of whom still have close con-

At the mountain village of La Realidad, participants set up their hammocks in the midst of wooden houses and mixed with Indian families that rank among the most destitute inhabitants of Mexico.

Contact between foreigners and Maya Indians, who have resisted white domination for centuries, was not easy. Marcos made one or two appearances, but he seemed tired and frail. Although a talented writer, he is a poor speaker.

The hooded Zapatistas present at the debates did not say much.

To work the virtually unpopulated and newly irrigated land, the

French authorities uprooted several

thousand people by force from their

native regions in southern Mali and

By the end of the war, the Office

du Niger, by then one of the biggest

companies in West Africa, had a

workforce of 6,000 black "settlers"

and 200 French expatriates. The

12,000 hectares of land they worked

fell far short of the 1 million

hectares it had been hoped to bring

Bélime, who had blotted his copy-

book by collaborating with the

Vichy régime, was replaced as di-rector. The Office then became a

state within a state. Regardless of

whether it made economic sense or

not, it increased the area of irrigated

land to 40,000 hectares. Cotton.

whose yields were only a quarter of

those in British Sudan, was replaced

by rice. There was mounting unrest

among the 35,000 black workers,

The Office's archives chart the

company's decline. A report commis-

sioned by the government from the

tax inspectorate in 1956 concluded

that the project had been "a failure".

any better when it was nationalised following Maii's ladependence in

1960. The socialist government de-

before, there were only wild animals and birds round here."

prices and the supply of seeds and tain the irrigation channels. Its four mills, where the cereal is husked,

End of era nears for Mali's colonial entity

present-day Burkina Faso.

tained only a few regimented and unspontaneous interviews. The Zapatista army keeps tight discipline in

Marcos says the Zapatista movement wants to have a mainly political mpact and seek solutions "by peaceful means". The Zapatista cause and its secular approach to the defence of the oppressed clearly struck a chord with foreign activists and visiting personalities, among whom was François Mitterrand's widow Danielle, filmmaker Pavel Lungin and sociologist Alain Touraine.

But support did not preclude criti-Reporters repeatedly asked to meet | cism. The authoritarianism of the

The Office's workforce increased

and output fell to below its pre-

assively, corruption became rife,

ndependence level although more

land had been brought under irriga-

tion. In 1968, Mali changed from

being an exporter to an importer of

rice. Cotton production was aban-

doned in 1970 because land else-

where in southern Mali was better

suited to cotton-growing and did not

Lieutenant Moussa Traoré, who

brought down Modibo Keita's regime in 1968, was no doctrinaire

believer in collectivisation and cen-

tralisation - unlike his predeces-

sor. His shift of policy and the

introduction of rice varieties used in

southeast Asia's "green revolution"

enabled the Office to survive. What

also helped was the realisation by

the international community, after

the terrible Sahel drought in 1973,

that the Office's land could act as an

invaluable safety net for food

France helped finance the irrigation

system's rehabilitation and the

building of a training centre. Rice

yields soared to six times their pre-

vious level, and soon the Office was

unable to husk all its output. Farm-

producers bought their first rice

mills and the Office's monopoly

It now has only a few hundred

staff and does no more than main-

ers' associations and Independent

In 1986, the Nethe

began to be eroded.

production.

nections with Marxist hardliners, means it is impossible to predict whether the movement's violent wing or Marcos's more imaginative approach will win through.

For the past two years the Zapa-tistas have been trying to break out of their geographical and political iso-lation by holding a succession of national and international conferences. A meeting with trade unions, political parties and voluntary associations took place in June; and an Indian

Its heavy equipment stands unused.

free market; the population of vil-

lages in the area has stopped dwin-

There remains one last hurdle:

the whole nation. If farmers are

given ownership, there is a risk of big estates being built up. Another

point is that if a farmer refuses to

pay his water bills, we can withdraw

his sleeve that now sounds a trifle

antiquated in a country that con-

verted to neoliberalism and demo-

But he cannot win the battle. The

funding agencies are determined to

ensure a favourable outcome for

farmers, even if it takes time. They will then be left with a sizeable cul-

tural problem on their hands; how

to persuade farmers to reinvest the

money they make in something more worthwhile than cattle, which

carry prestige in Mail but are essentially unproductive.

(July 28/29)

ressure on him.

everage."

self-sufficient in rice once again.

Farmers sell their output on the

orum was held in Oventic in July. Negotiations with the government are due to start up again this week. (August 6)

milled and polished, are up for sale.

ders, just as villagers find it hard to accept the participation of women in

dling; and Mali is about to become la your movement a guerrilla

No, we define ourselves as land ownership. The World Bank and other funding agencies want those who work the land to own it regular army. Decisions are taken by an Indian collective appointed by seven different ethnic groups, is rather than the Office. The comcluding the four main ones in Chla pany's director, Dr Fernand Traoré, thinks it would be a mistake to pas. Tactical decisions are the esponsibility of the Subcoman change the system: "The irrigated land is an investment and belongs to

It's a very peculiar army, which does a lot of talking and little, if any fighting. Its main weapons are words. It gets better results with words than with military action.

How do you think Mexican politnear future?
I don't know if the present political

crisis will result in democratisation or, on the contrary, in fascist-style regression. Politics here is a dead cracy at the same time: "Rice is a end, a victim of its electoral logic, strategic cereal in Mali. If the state | whereas social movements like our ere to privatise land, it would are flourishing. The best scenario deprive itself of an instrument of | would be that such movements will open up the Mexican political arena and bring democracy into people's

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

larity, but also to get foreigners and Indiana to meet each other. The issues we're raising here go beyond the case of our communities. The effects of international financial policies - unemployment and the marginalisation of whole popula tions - are comparable to those of a new world war.

You have turned down government money earmarked for control. Will you be able to maintain that radical stance for much longer now that neighbouring villages, which support the government, are getting corrugated iron, medicines and a number of amenities?

We were forgotten for so many years that we're used to doing without government help. Before our January 1994 uprising, the government sent nothing to Chiapas and didn't care about the Indian communities. Today, the aim of our resistance is to ensure that life in the Indian communities doesn't revert

Zapatista women activists have mposed a "revolutionary women's law" which specifies their rights. Why?

Situations vary from one ethni group to another. But in general women are in a state of greater slavery than men. They hardly go t school. They work a great deal getting water from the river, gather ing wood and working in the fields as well as looking after their children.

The women insurgents in our army are in a stronger position: our struggle enables them to study and take part in political decisions. They are not allowed to become mothers because conditions in the moun tains make it impossible to bring u

Yet soldiers still don't like being given orders by women comman ommunal decisions.

dante [Marcoa].

concession. If he owns the land, we will no longer be able to put ical life is going to evolve in the Traoré has another argument up

everyday lives.

(Auguat 6)

Le Monde

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 18 1998

The Washington Post

Releasing Iraq's Oil

EDITORIAL

BY A TYRANT'S logic, it is a victory for Saddam Husseln that he now has broken a key sanction, on oil sales, that the United Nations imposed on Iraq for its aggression against Kuwait in 1990-91. He can claim he has stared down his international adversaries and strengthened his own rule. But he did it only by making his people pay terribly and unnecessarily. He long refused the humanitarian loophole offered by the United Nations, contending its terms for selling oil and bringing in food and emergency supplies impinged on Iraqi sovereignty. And so they did, but for a good reason: fraq had started and lost a war and proved itself a cheat in peace. Only now, having flaunted his defiance, has Saddam Hussein accepted the

Iraq will be able to resume oil exports at the semiannual rate of \$2 billion (half the prewar rate). Some \$1.1 billion will go for food and medicines, \$600 million for war reparations, up to \$300 million for relief of Kurds and up to \$100 million for the cost of

The Security Council gets to review these arrangements every six months on the basis of U.N. monitoring. The United States held up the deal in order to tighten the monitoring and get it down in writing. But of course the devil will be in the enforcement details. The impression is that the sanctions are over. The reality is that a closely watched humanitarian exception is being

Jonathan C. Randai in Paris

DESPITE American efforts to isolate and punish Iran with controversial new trade sanctions,

Tehran's Islamic regime has ex-

panded its influence with two key

Middle East neighbors, diplomats and observers said last week.

Diplomats said the moves appear

to be further indications of Iran's

burgeoning influence throughout the swath of northern Iraq pro-

tected by U.S., British and French

warplanes since the end of the Persian Gulf War.

Necmettin Erbakan, Turkey's

first conservative Islamic prime

ninister, flew to Tehran at the

weekend on his first visit abroad in

gesture calling into question

Ankara's central role in Washing-

"dual-containment"

aimed at ostracizing Iran and Iraq.

His trip comes only days after

President Clinton signed the sanc-

tions law against Iran and Libya. De-

spite the new U.S. law's mandatory

sanctions against companies con-

ducting more than \$40 million

worth of annual business with Iran,

Turkish Energy Minister Recal

Kutan traveled to Tehran last week

to discuss possible major purchases

of Iranian oil and natural gas.



mal life remain. Their removal requires Saddam Hussein to halt his clandestine drive to acquire weapons of mass destruction, to ease repression of dishwored groups in the population and to return stolen Kuwaiti military equipment and account for trwaiti prisoners and MIAs. Such a turn is not in sight.

Saddan Hussein remains a threat to regional peace and sta-

ences with Iraq's gulf rival Iran have mooted any attempt to moagainst him. The traqi opposi-

bility, and it is depressing to see him still sitting in Baghdad

In a show of strength late last

month, several thousand Iranian

Revolutionary Guards made an in-

cursion deep into the Kurdish-

populated area of northern Iraq, taking advantage of the U.S.-led sys-

tem of air patrols established in

1991 to prevent Iraqi President Sad-

dam Hussein from renewing his re-

pression of 3.5 million Iraqi Kurds.

Diplomats, Iraqi opposition

cadres and regional analysts said

they are convinced Iran's purpose

was to demonstrate its steadily in-

The incursion provided further ev-

idence Iran has replaced the United

States and Turkey as the major

player in northern Iraq, diplomats

said. The trend emerged two years

ago when rival Kurdish factional leaders Massoud Barzani and Jalal

Talabani began a still-unresolved

many as 4,000 Kurds have died.

fratricidal power struggle in which as

Despite its proclaimed interest in

using the Kurdish-populated region

of northern Iraq as a singing area to

topple Saddam, Washington failed

to mediate an end to the Kurdish

drawn into a quagmire.

Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic

Party and Talabani's Patriotic Union | sive actions."

creasing muscle in the region a

pilize a local balance of power vert or topple his rule. And now a step is being taken that, for all reduces prospects of a popular regime. The United States is left practicing a containment policy that will have to be sustained

Kurdish region of Iraq, ranging

ligence operations, according to

The recent incursion into Iraq re

Iraq that diplomats and analysts

believe Tehran can provide what-

ever level of support it chooses to the Kurdish rebels from Turkey.

With the Americans apparently opt

northern Iraq, the Iranians are well

positioned to deny Washington a leading role in working toward Sad-

his eventual succession, according

"iran's message was clear," a

Washington's dual-containment pol-

icy has sprung a serious leak. Sec-

ond, Tehran can influence Turkey.

ground while Clinton talks tough on

sanctions . . . but doesn't take deci-

to diplomats and analysts.

fighting, apparently fearful of being | Third, Iran is creating facts on the

ing out of any active mediation

diplomats and analysts.

Iran Fights Back Against U.S. Sanctions of Kurdistan turned to Tehran. Iran now has a presence throughout the

pages of purloined Brown & reimbursement for tobacco-related Williamson documents were first Medicaid expenditures.

Legal 'Milestone' As Smoker Wins Case

reported in The New York Times in

May 1994. The Journal of the Amer-

John Schwartz

FLORIDA circuit court has given a former smoker a milestone" victory against the tobacco industry.

After two days of deliberations, the Jacksonville jury last week awarded \$750,000 to Grady Carter. 66, a retired air traffic controller who started smoking Lucky Strikes in 1947 and sued the cigarette's maker after losing part of a lung to

The jury found that cigarettes are nreasonably dangerous and that the company, American Tobacco, had not adequately warned consumers about the risks. The Lucky Strike brand is now owned by Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.

The industry has never paid ornny in damages in a liability suit volving tobacco. But this is the first case in which potentially damaging internal Brown & Williamson documents — which have recently come a light — were presented to a jury.

Brown & Williamson said it was disappointed" by the verdict and predicted victory on appeal. "The rial was prejudicially tarnished by sible evidence and to hear testimony based on speculation," the company said in a statement. Attorneys for Brown & Williamson argued that smoking was simply one of many risks that Carter had accepted in his life, such as piloting private planes.

Richard Daynard, head of the Tobacco Products Liability Project t Boston's Northeastern University, said that introducing the tobacco industry's own documents was key to the court victory.

One such document, a 1963 memo written by the late Addison Yeaman, then president of Brown & Williamson Tobacco, read, in part, "We are, then, in the business of selling nicotine, an addictive drug." "It's hard for a jury to look at that stuff and not get angry." Daynard

The first batch of thousands of

ican Medical Association published a report on the documents by University of California at San Francisco researcher Stanton Glantz and colleagues in 1995. However, Patti Stanford, one of Carter's lawyers, said that the documents might not have been the deciding factor in the case, and that

the legal climate has changed. "It's finally the time that they're going to get called" on their claims, Stanford said. The law firm has "hundreds" of similar cases pending, she added, but not all of them involve Brown & Williamson and so the documents may not b admissible in those cases. The

American Medical Association applanded what it called a "milestone" baceo company been ordered to pay

damages to a smoker in a liability case: In 1988, a jury awarder \$400,000 in damages to the family o New Jersey smaker Rose Cipallone That award was later overturned: federal appeals court in Philadel phia ruled in 1990 that a lower court should not have assumed that Cipol one relied on advertisements tout ing Liggett Corp. eigarettes' salety. Smokers also have won cases

against Lorillard Tobacco Co. over cancers they attributed to the "Micronite" lilter, but the Carter and earlier Cipollone cases are the only damage awards for the health effects of tobacco.

Plaintiffs' lawyers have move away from simple product liability cases in recent years because of the difficulty of convincing juries that smokers did not bring their problenis upon themselves. Daynard said. 'These were the cases you were not supposed to be able to win." Instead, lawsuits now tend to focus on the addictiveness of tobacco products. Some eliminate smokers from direct participation is the lawsuit at all; a number of states are suing the industry seeking

sembled Turkey's repeated cross-**Anti-Terror Bill Stalled** border operations in the past four years against bases of Turkish Kurdish insurgents of the Kurdish Workers Party, who have camps in

John F. Harris Such is Iran's power in northern

T RESIDENT Clinton at the weekend accused Republicans in Congress of being a handmaiden for the "gun lobby" because of their refusal to pass a key provision in his proposed anti-terrorism legislation that is opposed by the National Rifle

Republicans have turned aside Clinton's plan to put chemical markdam's overthrow and influencing ers, called taggants, in black and smokeless powders to allow law enforcement authorities to trace the source of the explosive after a bomb regional diplomat remarked, "First, goes off. The NRA argues that taggants might make powder unstable.

"The Republicans in Congress could give law enforcement this anti-terrorism tool, but once again they're listening to the gun lobby over law enforcement," Clinton said in his weekly radio address.

has tilted strongly toward Republicans, it was opposition from the more liberal end of the political spectrum that has stalled the other central provision of the anti-terrorism legislation. The American Civil Liberties Union is among the forces opposing Clinton's plan for expanding wiretap authority in terrorism cases. The administration's bill calls for

"roving wiretops," allowing police listen in not just on a single line but on all the phones, including cellular phones; used by a suspected terrorist. The law already allows such taps in organized crime cases. The House passed an anti-

terrorism bill before leaving for its August recess, but administration officials said it is flaccid without the taggent and wiretapping provisions. The Senate left town without voting.

Barton Geliman in Jerusalem

OREIGN Minister Levy, whose four-year feud with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu receded briefly around election day, is doing again what he does better than any rival in Israeli political life: nursing his wounded dignity and threatening to

The second-ranking figure in Netanyahu's government, Levy boy-cotted the Cabinet meeting last week and maintained an injured silence from his small-town power base of Beit Shean. Through airles in his Gesher Party, which split from Netanyahu's Likud but allied with it for last May's election, he made known that he will quit the post if Netanyahu does not accord him a larger role.

There is no policy or ideological dispute beneath this latest spat, and t cannot threaten Netanyahu's grip on power without stupendous miscalculations by both men. But the drama over Levy's prerogatives and pride has been more than enough to occupy the country's political junkies for several days.

Like many a foreign minister here before him, Levy feels pushed to the margins of his ostensible balliwick. Neither he nor any senior alde accompanied Netanyaliu on his visits to Washington and Amman, and Levy has not even been notified of the secret diplomacy of Dore Gold, a close Netanyahu aide, to several Arab states. When Netanyahu did not bother telling him about secret overtures to Levy's native Morocco, Levy stopped showing up for work and began making rumblings that he would quit.

Much the same tactic has worked often enough for Levy that it could fairly be called the basis of his political career. Resignation threats in re-

Douglas Farsh in Port-au-Prince

RESIDENT Rene Preval hates

L to be late. Unlike virtually everything else in Haiti, Cabinet

meetings and appointments begin precisely on schedule, and he repri-

Associates say the change from

the style of Preval's predecessor and

close triend, Jean-Bertrand Aristide,

stems not just from a healthy dose of

discipline but from Preval's sense

*Preval does not take himself too

seriously, but he is very serious

about what he has to do," an eco-nomic adviser said. "He knows he

has to demonstrate he can deliver

the goods. He knows he has to start

solving the daily problems of people's

Indeed, following Aristide, the

nation's most popular politician, is a

tough act. And it has been made

associated with trying to bring

With 80 percent unemployment,

the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere has no social safety

nct. With an illiteracy rate of more

than 50 percent, Haiti has few

skilled workers. And with virtually

no funds for the nation's crumbling

roads, electrical system, telephones

and health care, most people have little help escaping abject poverty.

some order out of the chaos.

lives . . . His back is to the wall."

that, for Haiti, time is running out.

mands those who are late.

minister's job under former Premier Yitzhak Shamir, forced Shamir and then Netanyahu to tear up their lists of parliamentary candidates to make room for Levy's political machine, and landed him second billing under Netanyahu over figures far more popular in the Likud party and the public at large.

One reason for Levy's success is grievance resonates with others among Israel's large cohort of Sephardic Jews, whose families come from north Africa and the Middle East and who resent the longstanding dominance of European-stock Jews like Netanyahu in Israeli society. The Sephardi vote is essential to the Likud's electoral

But Levy has often had a stronger hand to play than he seems to have now. Netanyahu managed to bring him on board for the last three months of the spring election cam-paign, and without Levy he might well have lost. But as Israel's first directly elected premier, Netanyahu now depends less on coalition partners than his predecessors did to

Even if Levy does resign and all six Gesher members of parliament leave the governing coalition — a scenario that still looks remote — Netanyahu would still have a bare majority. He could only lose that if additional Levy sympathizers such as Ariel Sharon, who nurses his own grievances against Netanyahu, were willing to bring the governmen down and force new elections. What makes the story irresistible

to Israelis, nevertheless, is the obvious personal loathing between Levy. 58, and Netanyahu, 46, who was the silver-haired foreign minister's deputy in the last Likud government and went on to defeat him as party leader. Their bitter struggle for

Preval, who has little of Aristide's

charisma and popular following, was

expected to do little more than keep

the presidential chair warm until

But in the six months since tak-

ing office, Preval has surprised even

his friends by seeming to thrive on

largely held up by an unruly Parlia-

ment's bickering. Preval has fo-

cused on accomplishing what he can without outside help and on

making the politically unpopular choices that Aristide often avoided.

Although Preval, who served as

Aristide's first prime minister, won

more than 80 percent of the vote in

December 1995, less than 40 percent

of the electorate voted. Once so close

to Aristide that the two were referred

to as "twins," Preval has had to make

many of the difficult moves with no

"Aristide had the political support

the police, on relning in the excess

flow of cash," said a diplomat who

worked closely with both men.

Preval has heeded Leslie Dela-

with surprising decisiveness."

public support from Aristide.

the job. With crucial foreign aid

Aristide could run again in 2000.



David Levy (left) meeting Yasser Arafat last month. The Israeli foreign minister is demanding a larger role, but there is personal loathing between him and the prime minister PHOTO: HAVANUK LEVISON

by Netanyahu that Levy was blackmailing him, left Levy unwilling to speak to Netanyahu - or even utter his name — for some three years. He used to refer to him in public as

The policies, and Preval's unflag-

ging pragmatism, have come as a

surprise because as prime minister

Preval was viewed by outsiders as

even more outspoken in support of

traditional leftist policies than Aris-

tide, and few expected him to em-

brace a stringent stabilization plan.

He has angered the nation's tiny elite, which has run most busi-

nesses in Haiti as private mono-

polies for generations, by pushing

the privatization law and enforcing

tax collection. Proposed privatization

of nine state companies could open

the economy to competition for the

first time in decades, challenging

the stranglehold of a handful of pow-erful families and business groups.

military coup that ousted Aristide in

September 1991, just seven months

after he took office as the nation's

Most of the elite supported the

Among Levy's demands at present is that he control the choice of cent years landed him the foreign power, which included false charges | tinians, a job that remains unfilled. | prime minister.

Netanyahu gave a tart reply in a televised interview last week. "I was elected in personal elec-

tions in order to promote a certain policy, and at the heart of the policy is the Palestinian issue," he said. "I mean to control it in partnership with the foreign minister, but I chief negotiator with the Pales | mean to lead. There is only one

Haiti's President Doesn't Just Mark Time | he owes no political favors to anyone. For the first time, he is hitting

In an interview last week, Preval showed up on time, wearing a casual shirt and loafers. Aristide was seldom seen in the palace out of a threepiece suit, and his appointments often ran hours behind schedule. Speaking partly in English and

partly through an interpreter, Preval told jokes on himself and sald being president was "boring," because people only apoke to him as the president, "not as Rene. We mostly discuss politics, even my friends talk politics, not about our smilies or children." Asked what his biggest accom-

dishment was, Preval said he had remained true to myself." "I clearly see where I want to go,"

Preval said. "I know I can't do everything in five years, so I set myself Preval said his first and most diffirst freely elected president. And most helped pay the Haitian military

ficult objective is economic recovmore difficult because Aristide to do just about anything, but he chose not to pay the political costs. To form the proposing the U.S. police and the judicial system, and chose not to pay the political costs | refused to move on privatization, on | occupation in September 1994 that | decentralizing the state's power in resulted in the restoration of Aristide.

The state, by simply enforcing the tax code affecting the few with *Preval, with little support and little to lose, is taking on all those issues enues by more than 30 percent.

*preval, with little support and little enues by more than 30 percent.

*preval, with little support and little enues by more than 30 percent.

For 10 years, he noted, these fam-"Every day for six months, Preval | ilies have been asking for exceptiontour, the central bank president, by refusing to print money and unleash inflation. Instead, he has let the government spend only what it takes in, day to day.

a head of state," said Georges Sassing Georges Sassing Said Georges Sassing Georges Sassing Said Georges Sassing Head of State, said Georges Sassing Head of has been learning about the role of a head of state," said Georges Sas-

Children Without **A Country**

EDITORIAL

MMIGRANT-BASHING about to reach a new low this week, as Republicans begin to take up platform language that would deny birthright citizenship to the children of illega

The proposal seeks either "a constitutional amendment or constitutionally valid legislation declaring that children born i the United States of parents ille gally present are not automat cally citizens."

This startling and truly mean proposition would dramatically change not only the constitu-tional promise of the 14th Amendment, but also a bedrock principle of this democracy: No matter where you come from o who your parents are, if you are born on this soil, you are forever an American.

There are all sorts of practical reasons for rejecting this

change. Would hospitals, for example have to assume new responsi bilities for investigating the citi zenship status of new mothers before registering births? Would obtaining a passport require no just a birth certificate, but also s ong-deceased parent's gree

Would the disqualification ap ply to generation after generation of children because the first immigrant didn't have his papers in order? Would they be eligible for naturalization even though their parents remained in illega

And if discovered, stateles by constitutional amendment, should they be deported — to where? — or should they perhaps imprisoned for the rest of their lives?

We are sure that there are Republicans who have answer for these questions, who could liking and enforce them with on thusiasm. So uncertainty is not a reason for rejecting this platform plank. History is.

Once before, this country denied citizenship to an entire class of native-born Americans, whose ancestors had come from Africa not with visas but liste on bills of sale. A great war was fought over their status in this society, and it was resolved in favor of citizenship and ful

For well over 128 years, every boundaries of the United States has started out in life as the political equal of every other child born in the country on that

It would be not only destructive, but also incredibly vindic-tive to take that gift from some or in order to discourage a few desperate pregnant women from sneaking across the border in order that their children be guar-

A N INTERNATIONAL human rights group condemned Peru's and urged President Alberto Fujimori to address immediately the plight of hundreds of people who may have been wrongly convicted. The report by Human Rights

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Qabriel Escobar in Lima

just a week after the U.N. Human Rights Committee issued Its own rebuke - is one of the most broadly documented denunciations of many simed at the anti-terrorist legislation since its inception four years ago.

> socially desirable response was, 'I soldiers. There is even talk of what want to serve, I want to be a fighter.' Now it has shifted radically, and I see it as a symbol of many impor-

tant changes in this society." The Israel Defense Force has long been regarded as one of the country's bedrock institutions. Every Jewish male was required to serve three years following high school graduation and then put in 30 years of annual reserve duty, while most women served two-year stints. The army gained a reputation for

excellence in four successive Arab-Israeli wars, and it provided a melting pot for Israel's varied ethnic groups and cultures, offering education in the Hebrew language and Jewish culture for those who lacked Military service became an essential rite of passage.

But the army's image has suffered many blows - from the traumatic 1973 Arab-Israeli War, in which Egyptian and Syrian forces launched a surprise attack, to the abortive 1982 invasion of Lebanon, to the searing divisiveness of that grew out of the army's suppression the Palestinian uprising against sraeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the late 1980s. These reverses stripped the army of criticism it once enjoyed.

"it's true that over the past 20 ears the army's poor performance nas eaten at its status and position. Israeli lustorian Benny Morris said. But it has also suffered from the general movement of the country away from ideology over the past decade. Each person wants his own big villa and car. What's important is what's good for the individual, not for the collective,"

It is a complex picture. High school boys still sign up for strenuous preparatory courses to compete for hard-to-get slots in elite combat units the same way some students in the United States compete for admission to ly League colleges. The army says it still gets eight applicants for every opening in its elite units. cite patriotism and service to the nunity as their motivation, while and I really didn't fit." more talk about individual goals.

At the same time, Israeli society has reduced its reliance on the army. Defense spending has steadily declined as a percentage of the gross national product over the past two decades, and more deep cuts are on the way in the budget proposed by Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's government. Like many businesses, the army has slimmed down. putting less emphasis on maintain-

and assassinations that began 1980 - Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movemen But with its reliance on "faceless judges, military tribunals and re strictions on due process - includ ing alleged torture - the system nos been the target of continuous criticism by human rights groups both here and abroad.

olutionary guerrilla groups re-

sponsible for a wave of bombings

The principal mitigating measure proposed by Fujimori is creation of a

vestigate and perhaps pardon "the Peruvians said to have been wrongly imprisoned are known here. The commission proposal is one of several made by the government recently; another calls for appointment of a human rights ombuds:

effect on the anti-terrorist tribunals, which will continue to operatc. And even those who might be pardoned by the panel would still be considered guilty under Peruvian law. "It resolves the problem of their freedom but not the root of the probsaid Francisco Soberon, of Peru's Pro-Human Rights Association.

But like other human rights workers. Soberon said that perhaps the biggest advance on the issue has been Fuilmori's acknowledgment that a problem exists. Their hope now is that the government will adopt some of the recommendations in the Human Rights Watch

Called "Presumption of Guilt: Human Rights Violations and the Faceless Courts in Peru," the report calls for a review of more than 5,000 cases, abolition of military courts and a restoration of a defendant's basic rights - including the right of the defense to cross-examine prose-

Israelis Lose Zeal for Army Duty

Rights Group Assails Peru's Anti-Terror Laws

demnation - which has involved

the U.S. State Department, the Roman Catholic Church and the Eu-

ropean Union among many govern-

ments and groups — with forcing

Fujimori to ease his hard-line

stance. Over the last two months, i

a marked departure from his prior

position, the president has acknowl-

edged that some people have been

unjustly detained and sentenced,

and he proposed what he calls "a

At Issue are repressive counter-

terrorist measures that created a se-

process of rectification."

Human rights leaders here credit the international campaign of conprocess and punish members of two

Glenn Frankei in Israelioccupied southern Lebanon

IME PASSES slowly for soldiers in a military observa-L tion post high atop the portion of southern Lebanon that Israel has occupied since 1982 as a protective "security zone." They spend their days and nights pecring through high-powered telescopic lenses at the valley below, looking for signs of hostile Hezbollah guerrillas on the move, alternating tedious duty with snatches of sleep in gray bunkhouses of corrugated sheet metal that bake in summer and freeze in winter.

These soldiers are proud members of the 50th Nahal Battalion, one of Israel's elite combat units. They are among the best-trained, bestequipped and most highly motivated of Israel's young warriors. "We know why we are here," said Chai, 21, a sergeant from southern Israel. We protect the northern settlements of our country. If we weren't here, they would be in danger."

Still, even in this last outpost in the last Arab-Israeli war, soldiers these days are expressing doubts — not about their mission, but about their future and about the army's place in a changing society. They read headlines about defense budget cuts and talk to friends and relatives back home, and they say they can see that their military service is no longer appreciated quite the way it once was, that it no longer is their ticket to success in the civilian world.

"I see no real benefit for me," said Barak, 21, who hopes to become a photographer when he finishes his service in three months. He and other soldiers here were interviewed under army ground rules that do not allow use of their full names. "When you go for a job interview, it makes no difference where you served. Today the army is just outine. Nobody cares about it."

That is a bit of an exaggeration; military service remains a source of pride and social cachet for many Israelis. But as the young men of the 50th Battalion are finding out, Israel's But fewer young people in surveys citizen army is losing its unique place as the central unifying force of this evolving society. Like other governmental institutions, the army has found it is not immune from the country's gradual transformation from a socialistic garrison state under siege to a more open, bourgeois and consumer-oriented society in which individualism is celebrated rather than treated with suspicion.
There's been a big shift in atti-

tudes among the young," said Itamar Lurie, a Hebrew University psychologist who for six years has surveyed Jerusalem high school sive, high-tech weaponry. Reserve would not be willing to pay the price."

was once the ultimate heresy; turning the army into an all-professional fighting force.

Already, many do not serve. Nearly 18 percent of eligible males are exempted, largely for religious, physical or psychological reasons or ecause they do not meet minimum standards. According to unofficial estimates, another 15 percent of conscripts drop out along the way third of Israeli males do not complote their three years of service.

One sign of the times is the career of Aviv Geffen, Israel's most nopular rock star, who boasts onstage about his avoidance of military service. In the past, such blatant draft-dodging would have been a black mark, but Geffen's

Even in parliament, army service is no longer a prerequisite for soccess. Due to the large contingent of new immigrants who came as adults and of ultra-Orthodox Jews who can exempt themselves from conscription, by one estimate as many as one-third of the new parliament's members have either done minimal military duty or not served at all.

20-YEAR-OLD Jerusalem man who insisted on anonymity toki of how he was able to drop out of the army after just 13 months of service. He said he was astonished to find that a quick trip to the army psychologist. where he complained that he was bored and depressed, got him a psychological discharge. He had started out in a combat

unit learning to dismantle mines and other explosives — work that was rigorous and challenging. But after he was transferred to a medical unit. he said, he found the work tedious. Corruption and overstaffing were rife, he said; five people worked in an office where one would have sufficed. Some reported for work only one or two days a week, "It was so demoralizing on the other," he re-

In the past, such a young man would have been encouraged by family and friends to stick it out. But he said he saw no lasting stigma for having dropped out and, unless he wants a government security job, no

But psychologist Lurie says the real test of the new generation will come if the Netanyahu government finds itself in a military confrontation with one of its Arab neighbors. "My

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Tales Cut Short

Gregory Feeley

THE ISLAND OF THE MAPMAKER'S WIFE & OTHER TALES By Marilyn Sides Harmony, 277 pp. \$23

LAST DAYS OF THE DOG-MEN By Brad Watson Norton. 144 pp. \$19

HORT STORIES are read (and finally judged) as indi-vidual works, but they come in collections, which possess - if only transiently — their own identi-ties. We still read Hemingway's and Faulkner's stories, but the volumes that the authors assembled - Winner Take Nothing, say, or Doctor Martino - are forgotten, however carefully they were arranged for balance, order of presentation or thematic unity. Yet these considerations were crucial ones when the stories first appeared. A fiction writer may range over numerous subjects and styles, but his story collection - especially the first one must present a recognizable unity to readers, who are likelier to be intrigued by a distinctive voice than by the promise of variety. Recent successful collections - Mark Richard's The Ice At The Bottom Of The World, Deborah Eisenberg's Transactions In A Foreign Curreacy, Robert Shacochis's Easy In The Islands — all have distinct identities and probably would have failed without them.

Such coherence may be a support or a straitiacket, which neither reader nor author is likely to know at the time, Both Marilyn Sides's The Island Of The Mapmaker's Wife and Brad Watson's Last Days Of The Dog-Men have concelts that pull the stories closer together, like kids in a family photo. The photo may have been taken to affirm the family bond, but the unsentimental reader may note that some of the kids look more interesting than oth-

The characters in Sides's stories are united in their passion for arcane collections: maps, beads, kites, Mayan pottery. Her stories, dense with learning and charged with curiosity, ably convey the intellectual excitement of mapmaking or archaeology and have moreover a kind of ontological fixity: They are engagedly, knottily about some thing in a way that short stories are not generally asked to be.

In the title story, the map dealer's trip to Amsterdam to pursue a set of exceptional maps culminates in a description of a superlative work by the 17th-century map illuminator Margarethe Blaeu. The map contains an imaginary island off Venezuela that the artist has added by hand: Studied closely, it proves to be a cunning piece of trompe l'acit, with the island's contours forming the silhouette of an embracing couple. It is a lovely conceit, perhaps the best thing in the book, and the fact that Sides is less sucthe map dealer's interest in the map's disheveled owner does not detract from its charm.

Sides is, in fact, weaker in her formal construction than in depicting the excitement of her characters' vocations. She sometimes employs dublous tricks, such as withholding her protagonist's name or (as with the map dealer, Descutes) being erary polish can be learned. If nel-

burst of figurative language — of smoke and mirrors, really — that leaves the reader uncertain as to what has actually happened.

is a short novel about a bereaved woman who joins an architectural dig in Guatemala and finds selffulfillment in becoming a skilled drawer of Maya pottery. It attempts, rather daringly, to combine literary showmanship with architectura verisimilitude, with mixed results The early series of letters between the lovers forces Sides into a rather strained exercise in virtuosity in creating a new pet name for every salutation and signature, since she wishes not to disclose either character's first name. The author is perhaps too much on her protagonist's side — her ingenuousness and dedication are rather glibly contrasted with the smug knowingness of others - and her apiritual regeneration consequently partakes somewhat of the quality of a fairy tale.

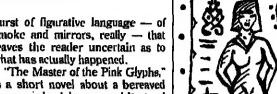
Brad Watson's Last Days Of The Dog-Men offers a much narrower aperture: His stories focus on the relations between people and their dogs -- hunting dogs, beloved pets, a troublesome stray. Such a high concept sounds like the premise for comedy, and indeed several of Watson's stories are either droll or hilarious. In the title story, after the protagonist's wife discovers his affair, he goes to ground in an especially seedy bachelor household: "The farmhouse is a wreck floating on the edge of a big untended pasture where the only activities are the occasional squadron of flaring birds dropping from sight into the tall grass, and the creation of random geometric paths the nose-down

HERE, dogs are used as a gauge of humans' superiority to nature, not necessarily accurately. One of the protagonist's housemates discourses on the qualities that can make a dog "no better than a dog" and not fit to come indoors, but the protagonist yearns for the "order and clarity" of a dog's life. "Humans are aware of very lit tle, it seems to me, the artificial brainy side of life, the worries and bills and the mechanisms of jobs. the doltish psychologies we've placed over our lives like a stencil. A dog keeps his life simple and unadorned. He is who he is, and his

logs make tracking the birds."

only task is to assert this." None of the other stories works quite so well as this one. In "The Wake" the protagonist must deal with a stray dog that died under his house and is beginning to decay. His problems are compounded when he takes receipt of a crate that proves to contain his estranged wife, who sent herself by UPS from New Orleans in order to have a serious talk. She remains in the box. however, and offers criticisms of him from within as he attempts to entertain dinner guests. This lowbut fails finally to resonate: We understand that a parallel is being drawn between the wife and the dog

but are not sure what to make of it. Brad Watson's stories are notable for their verbal energy, Marilya Sides's stories for their curiosity and engagement with the world. Energy and curiosity are crucial virtues; litheavy-handed in its formulation. In | ther writer can yet be called fully three of the four short stories. Sides | accomplished, I would nonetheless rings down a conclusion with a read more stories by either of them. | IRA should disarm.





When East Meets Mideast

Shaahi Tharoor By A. B. Yehoshua

Translated from the Hebrew by Daiya Blu Doubleday, 498 pp. \$24.95

OPEN HEART is the latest novel of the distinguished Israeli writer A.B. Yehoshua, who has won every conceivable literary award in his homeland. In its nearly 500 pages Open Heart provides ample vidence of Yehoshua's command of his metier: The novel flows powerfully in fluent, confident, yet simple prose: it has a compelling story line and vividly drawn characters; and it is infused with a big and serious theme, the nature of love and the mysteries of the human soul.

It is also a novel about two countries, Israel and India — an Israel no foreigner would recognize and an India only a foreigner would recognize. Yehoshua's Israel is a hund without terrorism, where no one encounters a Palestinian or discusses polities, and where for 500 pages there is not even a whisper of the existential few that outsiders imaginc to be an inescapable part of the daily reality. This is fine: It helps the author focus on the intensely Shiva, whose name is simultane ously that of the Hindu god of de struction and the Hebrew word for return," and with his parents and colleagues. Yehoshua is a writer with a renarkable command of the emo-

with Michaela and their daughter

tional and practical details of which life is made, and under his omniscient gaze each character, each relationship is both delicately and deeply etched. Open Heart is an astonishing work about love in all its

seeks to be. With India as its platform and backdrop, the novel also seeks to explore the nature of the human soul; its characters are constantly debating whether souls exist and whether they can migrate into other bodies, a possibility for which death is apparently not always a

But it is hard to accept the authorial confusion that has the Buddhis Michaela declare that "there's no such thing as a soul" and then be enthralled when her husband claims to be possessed by another's ("an ethereal idea from the India she so adored and longed for").

There comes the question of the eviewer's subjectivity: Would this matter to a non-Indian reader? My problem is that Yehoshua's accomplishment as a psychological novelist is diminished in my eyes by his despoliation of the integrity of a foreign culture. There is a crucial blood transfusion early in the novel which provides for me a damning metaphor — for Ychoshua seems to have drawn just enough blood from India to serve his fictional purposes in a procedure that is burtful to the donor and arguably unnecessary for the recipient. In this exploitative process, the emotional structures and imaginative impact of the novel are, for me, fatally undermined.

I can only hope that others less troubled by this will find greater satisfaction in what is, despite this

personal emotions and acts that are the concern of his fiction. His India, however, is where my problem as a

The story of the novel is simple enough. Benjamin ("Benjy") Rubin. a bright young doctor at a modern private hospital in Tel Aviv, learns at the start of the book that he will not be selected for the surgeon's posi tion he had hoped for. He is instead offered a trip to India with the hospital's administrative director. Lazar and his wife. Dori, who wish him to help them bring their dangerously ill daughter, Einat, back to Israel. In the course of the trip, the young doctor observes the suffocating in tensity of the dependence and affection that bind the older couple to each other. He then falls impossibly

in love with the "overweight, mid

dle-aged" Dori. On their return to Israel with the now restored Einat, Benjy pursues his passion by renting an apartment from Dori. Almost to protect his illicit love, he marries Michaela, an intense young woman who had befriended Einat in India, As the novel unfolds over the next two years, Yehoshua candidly explores each of Benjy's relationships — with Lazar, whose patronage he needs satisfaction in what is, despite and whose wife he loves; with Dori, flaw, a considerable work of art.

Too much democracy can be bad for you

Richard Thomas

HEN East Germans tore down the Berlin Wall in 1989, a new global truth seemed to have been established: democracy and economic prosperity are two sides of the same coin.

Sure, the demonstrators who washed away the communist regimes of eastern Europe wanted democracy. But they wanted it, at least in part, because they hoped Big Macs, denim and Nike trainers would follow in its wake. The world's most successful economies were also democracies.

But this year, virtually unnoticed. nations west of the old wall have been ditching this apparently cast-iron rule. Last week, "lean-luc Dehaene, the Belgian prime minister, assumed executive power to raise taxes, cut benefits and set wage levels without prior consultation.

The reason for the entergency measures is that Belgium is way outside the Maastricht criteria for joining a single currency — and desperately wants to be in the club. Even those who warned that the European Monetary Union project would erode national democratic rights cannot have imagined such an early reverse.

Last spring, the italians - who also want to be in the European core - held elections in which the proportional element was diluted. The resulting Olive Tree Alliance is enforcing collective cabinet responsibility for the first time in living memory. Last week saw monthly inflation fall for the first time in 25 years.

A new truth is emerging: too much democracy makes for bad

Heather Connon

looks at how a sign of

management failure

of corporate virility in

the short-sighted City

ORGET mega-takeovers, trophy headquarters or fleets of jets;

the latest symbol of corporate virility is the share buy-back. It has

become the vogue for companies to

shrink capital bases rather than

has become a symbol

economics. Politicians and economists are reluctant to come clean about this. In the Western political lexicon, motherhood and apple pie rank way below democracy.

But there is mounting evidence that political freedoms do, at some point, compromise economic progress. In an article for the new Journal of Economic Growth*. Harvard economist Robert Barro concludes that economic growth rates are negatively associated, albeit veakly, with greater democracy.

Surveying 100 countries between 1960 and 1990, he shows that while economic freedoms - free markets, rule of law, strong property rights and limited corruption — are powerful determinants of growth rates, political freedoms appear to have the opposite effect. Although some democracy is better than none, lots of democracy — more requent votes, at more levels, on nore issues — is worse than some.

There are two reasons why this is so, First, voters want to feel good now, not tomorrow. Even if at some level we know a recession is necessary, we would rather put it off. And because politicians know this, the economy is run in line with our short-term, greedy wishes. This is the argument that under-

pins calls for independent central banks. Because politicians will be under pressure to deliver short-run growth, they neglect inflation and rising inflation puts the brakes on longer-term expansion.

Of course, those who want to take monetary policy out of the hands of elected politicians never dare to frame their arguments like this. Professor William Keech, whose



atest book** was a procursor to Mr. Barro's research, supports indepen-dence for central banks. He denies his stance is undemocratic Democracy covers a wide constel-Intion of forms, in which electorates play a menningful role," he says.

This is hokum. Democracy does take many forms, But the starting point of any definition is the capacity of a universal electorate to throw out those they believe to have fouled up. We can do this to politicians who decide monetary policy. We can't do it to unelected central bankers, independent central banks

are less democratic. QED.

The real point that proponents of entral bank independence make is that the loss of some democracy is worth it, because of the improve ment in economic prospects.

There is no shame in making this hoice, so long as it is clear and not efuldled by arguments about different shapes of democracy. People can choose to give up some of their lemocratic power in exchange for something else. The Bundesbank, probably the least accountable central bank in the world, is whole heartedly supported by a population among whom the scars of pre-war hyper-inflation still run deep.

mess things up. But there is another reason why Mr Barro found a perverse relationship between democracy and growth: purer forms of democracy allow politicians mess things up. Countries with constitutional structures that disperse power between legislatures, between central, local and regional government, and between parties have a poor economic record, the research by Mr Barro and Prof Keech suggests. Hence Italy's retreat from pure proportionality, and Belgium's U-turn.

Too much democracy votes to

Tough, unpopular decisions are harder to make when the support of a number of players is needed. As Prof Keech says: "It is impossible, by definition, for lots of people to bite a bullet at the same time."

By contrast, the "Westminster" style of democracy - with first-pastthe-post elections and strong central executive control, seems to be associated with a better long-run economic performance. One reason the UK probably doesn't need an independent central bank is that it is a less demogratic country in the first place the insulation is built into the system.

The implications for British polities are painfully clear. There is an empirically proven trade-off between democracy and prosperity in ndustrialised countries. And, given the choice, most voters would almost certainly go for faster growth, not a bit more democracy.

Tony Blair has already watered down some of Labour's plans for devolution - and looks to be cooling on PR. If he is serious about shifting the economy on to a highskill, high-investment path, this is a good sign. He will have to keep the levers of power within his own reach — even if that goes against his democratic instincts. Labour is into tough choices: here is a beauty.

Kluwer Academic Publishers, 101 Philip Drive, MA 01061, US. Economic Politics, CUP.

Finding a Way Towards Peace in Belfast

THE TROUBLES Ireland's Ordeal 1966-1996 and The Search for Peace By Tim Pat Coogan Roberts Rinehart, 472 op. \$29.95

TT IS difficult, in the middle of the Lirish Republican Army's beinous bombing campaign and the thuggery of the Protestant Orange Order in Catholic neighborhoods, to look back with dispassion at the slow, tortuous road to an Irish cease-fire and its failure. The silencing of the guns created a rare moment in Irish history when reconciliation might have rooted in the stony ground of sectarian hatred. The period ended in February when an IRA bomb at Canary Wharf in London all but devastated the fragaffect venture into Frederick lie - and in Ireland always treach-

However difficult, though, an accounting of rank political failures during the 17-month cease-fire is necessary. In Tim Pat Coogan's account, the primary political failure lies with the British government. Writing with a clear nationalist perspective, Coogan, a leading Irish journalist und historian, despairs of the British failure to move quickly to all-party talks, which foundered on the issue of when and how the Neither the British government nor the Protestant Unionist community can be expected to negotiate with an IRA that will not disarm until there has been an end to negotiations. Similarly, the IRA cannot be expected to immediately disarm in advance of any negotiations because this can only be read as surrender. Between those two positions, the British government did not estab-

lish a middle ground. In the end, elements within the IRA saw only sophistry and retreated from the path that the leadership of its political wing, Sinn Feln, was trying to clear. Whether the British government, given the bombings, can surmount its understandable loathing for the IRA, even if there is another cease-fire, is unknowable, And The Troubles, most of which was written before the first bomb exploded, ends just as these | haps unduly so given recent events

uestions become critical Much of Coogan's book, unfortunately, is taken up with recounting the long history of the conflict, a story already well-told elsewhere, and without the tone of nationalist grievance too evident here.

Still, when he finally gets around to it. Coogan provides a worthy ac determined British effort to include count of the guarded, nuanced evo- | Sinn Fein in talks and outlast the lution in Sinn Fein's thinking, away probable obduracy of loyalists from its blind belief that Britain, not the Unionist community, was the obstacle to a United Ireland and to-

structures may evolve from negotiations that fall short of the old dream Whether the Unionist communit

can believe that the peace process is not a Trojan Horse and accept something other than an internal solution remains an untested proposinegotiations. And there is no sense n Coogan's book how far Unionists might travel to new structures. short of a United Ireland. That, in fact, is the great weak

He says the logiam can be broke

only by President Clinton. But the

logjam, while not entirely of its cre-

ation, is the IRA's to break, by

restoring the cease-fire and commit-

ting to a reasonable disarmament:

process. Such a move will have to

be followed, quickly this time, by a

Maybe then, in the words of the

expand corporate empires. ness in Coogan's book. He has little Already this year more than \$3.4 billion worth of shares has been or no sympathy for Unionist sensitivities or fears. His sources do albought back by companies ranging from RJB Mining to NatWest, which recently chipped in with \$699 milmost nothing to help him develop a sense of their thinking behind the predictable public posturing. hon. That is already more than the Coogan, writing an epilogue \$3 billion total in 1995 and Kleinwort early 1996, remains optimistic, per-Benson estimates buy-backs for the

> ture industries such as banking, financial services and retailing start to throw off surplus cash. The City loves it. What was once dismissed as a sign of management failure is now celebrated as a symbol of great success, and any company whose balance sheet even hints at surplus cash is urged to join the trend. Companies extol earnings per share, dividend potential and cost of capital. Investors - many of whom can reclaim a tax credit on the shares

their own shares, at least they are investing in something they should know a bit about," said David Rough, investment director of Legal

Buying back is no investment

But what about the effect on corporate Britain? Handing cash back to shareholders does nothing to improve the economy. Surely it would be better to invest in building for the future — and, given Britain's rather poor record of investment, any additional funds would be gratefully received. Companies that buy back their shares insist they are investing, too, it's just there are not enough projects available with the required rate of return.

The best example of that is Reuters, which started the buy-out trend with a \$544 million repurchase in 1993 and is considering a similar move this year. It is spending heavily - in 1995 more than \$775 million on increase its cash balances by more | lowering prices, rather than for than \$465 million, to \$1.3 billion.

Barclays, one of the leading proponents of buy-backs, was expected to do its third following interim results last week. But it has a slightly different reason. Chief executive Martin Taylor is determined that the bank be disciplined in its use of capital. Even the blunt Mr Taylor is too polite to say so directly, but he

"If companies are buying back | erty lending, leading to a \$375 mil-

That is a graphic example of one of the problems with capital investment: companies are not very good at it, Legal & General's Mr Rough blames management for setting too-high targets. "Companies aim for 25 or 30 per cent returns, then identify four projects which can achieve that. In fact, if they are lucky one achieves 20 per cent and the others fail, so the overall return is something like 9 per cent. But if they set a more reasonable rate of return, say 12 or 13 per cent, they could choose more projects which would be more likely to succeed. The overall return to the business could be

that much greater." Paul Temple of the London Business School, who is carrying out work on competitiveness with his Warwick colleague Simon Peck, says too much of Britain's investtechnolo logical edge or long-term benefits. That means it gets far less benefit from investment than coun-

tries such as Japan and the US. Why companies set themselves such high investment hurdles is not that projects have failed so often managements feel they have to compensate. As likely, however, is wants to avoid a repeat of the 1980s | that it is a reaction to the boom-tothey sell, boosting their proceeds by disaster, where a \$1.4 billion rights bust history of the British economy, a quarter - rub their hands in glee. I issue in 1988 was splurged on prop exacerbated by the short-term na- it starts to produce any return."

ture of most directors' remuneration contracts. Certainly there is little sign com-

panies are reducing their target rates of return to take account of the more stable growth and lower inflation both the Government and the Opposition say will continue. That is partly because managers have long memories; they need more than a few years of stability to be persuaded that British policy-makers have changed their spots. Real interest rates, adjusted for inflation,

remain alarmingly high. Even so-called long-term incentive plans can cover only a three year period and will be geared to increases in earnings and share prices - both of which are far more easily influenced by short-term fixes than long-term investment.

Professor Peter Moizer of Leeds Jaiversity business school says his research shows the only thing companies cling to consistently is their dividend payments. He found that companies, and institutional investors believe they are being asquisitions — though it managed to | ment is aimed at cutting costs and | sessed mainly for short-term results. Fund managers' investment performance is monitored quarterly, and they tend to prefer companies that produce consistent results.

Company managements are judged by daily share-price movements, or half-yearly profits perforclear, Mr Rough believes it may be mance, giving them a disincentive to take risks.

"That adds to the attraction of acquisitions," said Mr Moizer. "If you have to set up a factory somewhere, it could take at least five years before

Acquisitions, on the other hand, give instant results. Cost-cutting from integrating head offices, closing factories and shedding employees are quickly translated into higher profits, so who cares about strategic fit and long-term growth?

Take last week's \$206 million pur chase of the Pelican restaurant chain by Whitbread. Pelican's founders, with far less financial muscle than Whitbread, managed to assemble 100 restaurants from a standing start just over six years ago. Instead of build-ing a chain itself, Whitbread opted to buy Pelican, paying \$155 million more than Pelican has invested in the assets. - The Observer

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

1.9954-1.9979 16.10-16.11 18.10-18.13 47.18-47.25 47,18-47.25 2,1270-2,1291 2.1224-2.1254 84-8 85 8.85-9.88 12.00-12.01 0.9614-0.9627 2,350-2,353 2,339-2,343 166,84-167.05 164.52-184.79 2 5880-2 6708 2.5873-2.5708 2,2589-2,2626 .2578-2.2615 9.01-9.93 9.66-9.90 235 38-235 70 234 06-235 57 194.96-195.26 194.37-194.67 10.31-10.33 10.19-10.21 1.8608-1.8633 1.8556-1.8684 1,5514-1,6524 1,6438-1,6448 1.2201-1.2214 :: N/A-N/A

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FT96194 Brans Index up 16.0 of 3003.0. F796 800 Index up 45.5 at 4351.5. Both down \$5.50 at \$367.50.

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Closing date for applications: 30th August 1996.

Charley No. 1053720

Father of the jet age

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Sir Frank Whittle

R FRANK WHITTLE, who has died of lung cancer aged 89, was an engineering genius frustrated by official disinterest and political manipulation, yet finally triumphant. He is known throughout the world as the inventor of the turbojet engine, which he patented in 1930; as the pioneer of high-flow compressors; and as the holder of first patents on the later turbofan and bypass jet engines, Whittle-based engines transformed aviation and have powered all major aircraft since the fifties.

From 1929 he had been expounding the potential of the turbolet i high-speed and high-altitude fligh The Air Ministry listened without enthusiasm, repeatedly declaring that although in theory the jet engine was sound, the required high-temperature alloys were not available and, for practical purposes, the idea was largely pie in the sky. There was neither government nor industrial interest in Whittle's 1930 patent and, until 1936, no financial support for development.

Whittle, by this time on a post graduate fellowship at l'eterhouse was close to despair. Out of the blue, two retired RAF pilots, R D Williams and J C B Tinling, plus M I. Bramson a pilot-engineer with connections to the investment firm Falk and Part ners - offered to join forces in a development company with Whittle at its head. Bramson produced an enthusiastic report, and an agree ment proposing the establishment of Power Jets Ltd on private capital was sent to the Air Ministry.

Hernan Siles Zuazo

HERNAN SILES ZUAZO, who has died aged 83, was one of the

most important figures in Bolivia's turbulent political history. As one of

the founding members of the Na-

tionalist Revolutionary Movement

(MNR), he led the bloody 1952 up-

rising that became known as the Bo-

livian Revolution. After Mexico and

Cuba, it was one of the most far-

Latin America this century, leading

to the nationalisation of Bolivia's tin

mines, big reforms which gave land

to indigenous people, and the intro-

duction of universal suffrage. But it was also short-lived and failed to re-

solve Bolivia's structural problem of

Siles was a small, thin, myopic

man, whose protruding front teeth

earned him the nickname of conejo

(rabbit). It was a misnomer. He was a

man with a well-deserved reputation

he was sworn in as interim presi-

reaching political movements is

tion in hand, Power Jets Ltd was | after prolonged delays, emerged as ordered to hand over all production work to the established aero engine

Whittle argued that they were illprepared for an entirely new techology. Later delays showed he was right but his plea was in vain and lower Jets Ltd was restricted to research work. Whittle resigned and his health broke down. His life's work became the property, under Crown use, of Rolls-Royce and Armstrong-Siddeley in Britain, and the major manufacturers of the Inited States. Whittle's role became that of consultant. That he was later awarded £100,000 in compensation. large sum in the forties, seems an

> nadequate recompense for the rention of a vast new hi-tech

the Welland. Power Jets was nationalised and Whittle appointed as an adviser. In 1946, with jet engine development taking of throughout the world, his company was deprived of all rights to design and develop engines, and converted into the National Gas Turbine Establishment. Whittle was dispatched on fecture tours. Two years later, with the rank of Air Commodore, he was invalided out of the RAF and knighted. He promptly began a second career, as academic, consultant and inventor first in Britain with the oil companies (the Whittle drill), and, from 1976, in the US.

Anthony Tucker

Frank A Whittle, Inventor of the jet engine, born June 1, 1907; died

The power and the glory . . . Sir Frank Whittle inside the intake of a Rolls-Royce engine. To his despair

There was no offer of financial nelp from the ministry. Nevertheless, encouraged by his Cambridge tutor, Professor Roy Lubbock, and by the head of aeronautical sciences. Melville Jones, Whittle launched the

company on a shoestring. Not until 1939, with Whittle's third experimental engine showing substantial technical promise, did the Air Ministry step in with a contract allowing Whittle to head Power Jeta Ltd and develop a prototype engine for the RAF. The result was the famous W.1 flight engine, designed into the single-seat experi-

mental fighter aircraft E28/39. With jet engines obviously heading for success, the Air Ministry came under heavy pressure from the British aircraft industry which hitherto had done nothing to help - to take over future production from Whittle. In spite of having several contracts for engine produc-

exile in Argentina.

times seemed naive.

Siles was the son of a presiden

and a full-blooded political animal.

But his career seemed almost ama-

teurish. He was double-crossed by

those he trusted, and, in the rough-

and-tumble of the Bolivian political acene, his idealistic approach some-

Siles served as vice president

under Paz Estenssoro and was him-

self elected president in 1956. He

pushed ahead with some changes,

nationalising the mines and intro-

ducing education and agrarian re-forms. But he also decided it was

necessary to consolidate the gains

orthodox policies. He gave in to

pressure from the United States and

the International Monetary Fund

and introduced tough financial re-

forms, which alienated the labour

sions within the MNR.

power for himself. Instead, he duti- back at this period as the beginning

fully surrendered it to his party of the betrayal of the revoluti

movement and made worse the divi-

When miners went on strike to

of the revolution by adopting more

Reconstructed revolutionary

Whittle's disappointments were not over. His third engine design, taken over by Rolls-Royce in 1943

the presidency in 1960. But in 1964, | centre-right. At the head of a loose adhering to his high code of personal morality, Siles became fearful that Paz was setting himself up as a caudillo (leader) and refused to give him his support for a third term. He successfully conspired with the mili-



tary to overthrow Paz in November.

At the same time, he strengthened | Siles Zuazo . . . double-crossed for courage. During the 1952 upristing, this diminutive man was out in immediately after the revolution.

But this unlikely alliance was shortlived and Siles was forced into exile. From his exile in Chile and then Argentina, Siles opposed the represcounter peasant and miner militias. | sive military regimes that followed. dent. A lesser man would have kept | Twenty years later, he would look | On his return to Bolivia, Siles became increasingly radical as Paz Estenssoro and the other fellowchief, Victor Paz Estenssoro, who Paz Estenssoro succeeded Siles to founders of the MNR veered to the Merch 21, 1914; deci August 6, 1998

electoral coalition of leftwing parties. Siles won three consecutive elections between 1978 and 1980 But the military refused to let him take office, clinging on to power until 1982 when international and domestic pressure forced them to hand over to civilian rule. When Siles was finally sworn in for his second term as president, it brought to

an end 18 years of military rule. Siles inherited an economy that was a shambles and widespread social unrest. The world price of tin. on which Bolivia was heavily dependent, was at an all-time low. The government was hit by crippling strikes and inflation soared to around 20,000 per cent a year. Siles tried to restage the 1952 revolution from the left. He refused to implement the stringent reforms demanded by the default on its debt.

By late 1984 he was almost totally isolated, unable to control inflation, and facing a hostile congress and labour unrest. When Bolivia's bishops proposed that the election be brought forward a year to 1985, Siles could only acquiesce. Deeply embittered, he went into exile in Uruguay, where he lived until his death.

Hugo Estenssoro and James Hodges

Hernan Siles Zuazo, politician, bom

Cruel end to sixties dream

Ossie Clark

OSSIE CLARK, aged 54, one of the most influential figures in post-war British fashion, was stabbed to death at his west London home last week.

He was one of the British working-class wunderkinder who enlivened the art school scene in the 1960s and, finding they were having so much fun, created swinging Loudon as the playpen for it to continue.

Born in Liverpool, Ossie -real name Raymond — was evacuated to Oswaldtwistle on he Lancashire-Yorkshire border, and returned to live in Warrington in 1947. He was, by his own admission, a mislit, dancing to a tune quite different from that followed by the other boys on his council estate.

Destined to be a brickle, he was sent to Warrington technical college, where he did so well that he was accepted by Manchester College of Art to study design. He went on to the Royal College of Art and left in 1964 with a first-class degree — the only student to receive one in his year.

He plunged into swinging andon with enthusiasm, and rapidly became one of its characters. Socially, he was a close friend of David Hockney and Andy Warhol: hung out with Jim Hendrix and Mick Jagger; spent camp weekends at Reddish with Cecil Beaton; and designed the most ravishingly pretty dresses for the girls who surrounded him. Marianne Falthfull, Bianca agger, Marie Helvin, Jerry Hall and Twiggy were all part of his life and an inspiration to him.

It was while working at Quorum - one of the most successful King's Road boutlancs that he met the fabric designer Celia Birtwell, with whom he struck up a very successful

partnership. In 1969 they married, and the two were famously painted by their friend David Hockney. The portrait hangs in the Tate. There vere two sons, Albert and Seorge, but the marriage ended

On the business side, his creative originality was not matched by a commercial Instinct and later ambitious ventures foundered. He was declared bankrupt in 1983 and attempts to revive his career

The 1980s scuppered him. The man who said "I detest money" stood no chance of surviving those money-mad days. Ossie Clark went bankrupt Latin American country officially to | from there it was professionally, emotionally and even socially, more or less downhill all the

> And yet there was a tromendously moving sense of hope in Ossie Clark. He looked to the future, convinced that his day must come again and his talent be recognised by a new generation.

Colin McDowell

Ossie (Raymond) Clark, fashion designer, born 1942; died August 6,

Peter TILL

Return ticket to Mars

Paul Davies argues that since planets have been hurling rocks at each other for agons, life on Mars could have come from Earth. Or vice versa

■ ASA'S announcement of evidence for Martian microfossils signals a dramatic U-turn in scientific opinion about the Red Planet. Twenty years ago scientists had all but written off Mars as an abode for life after the Viking Lander missions, Samples of Martian topsoil scooped up by the Viking craft showed no convincing signs of organic activity. Moreover, the surface temperature and atmospheric pressure were dismally low. in short, Mars seemed a sterile, forbidding planet.

Now scientists are questioning this conclusion. Several Mars experts have for some time been

expressing cautious optimism that Mars may once have harboured life. Some have even suggested that Martian microbes may still survive, deep beneath the surface.

One reason for this change of heart was the discovery of life in some unusual places on Earth. In the late 1970s biologists were amazed to find organisms living on the ocean floor, several kilometres down, close to volcanic vents. Here there is no sunlight, and the temperatures can be well above 100C. The fluids erupting from the vents are richly laced with sulphurous and other chemicals that would kill most familiar organisms. Yet there are microbes - thermophiles - that

thrive in these conditions. Thermophiles are independent of the food and energy chain that sustains surface life. Instead, they make a living from the hot chemical broth that vomits from the vents. This prolific source of energy supports an

The deep-ocean thermophiles along with their microbial cousins living in the boiling geysers of Yellowstone National Park, are no evolutionary quirks. Indeed, there could be thousands of species of these microbes. They are so weird that they form their own kingdom of life, called archaea. Many biologists think the archaea closely resemble

Earth's earliest living organisms.

But this is not all. Deep drilling projects in the ocean floor have shown traces of microbes in the crust of Earth itself. Evidence is accumulating of an underworld of exotic life-forms, with microbes teeming in the hot rocks beneath our feet.

The importance of this discovery for Mars is that similar conditions are likely to have prevailed beneath the Martian surface, too, during its 4.5-billion-year history. Photographs show ancient river systems on Mars, including huge canyons and deltas entire ecology that includes crabs | cut by running water. Geologists susand tube-worms several metres long. | pect that massive flash floods were

years Mars gets slammed by an asteroid or comet with enough force to blast rocks into space. You can see the craters clearly in satellite photos. peppering the Martian landscape. Over the aeons the ejected fragments become strewn around the solar system. Some inevitably get swept up by other planets as they orbit the Sun. It has been estimated that 500kg of Martian material strikes Earth every year. The same process is bound to happen in re-

debris into space, some of which will reach Mars. So it seems as if rocky material is continually being exchanged between the planets.

planets would have been subjected to a much more intense cosmi bombardment. Rocks and boulden must have travelled in profusion between Earth and Mars. The significance of this discovery for life on Mars is obvious if

their 4.5-billion-year history, the

caused by volcanoes melting under-

ground ice deposits. The combination of volcanic activity and water

could have created a perfect environ-

But suitable conditions are one

thing, the actual emergence of life

quite another. Biologists still have scant idea how life began. Darwin

suggested it started in a "warm little

pond" on Earth's surface. The

avoured theory is that chemical self-

organisation occurred in a soup of

organic compounds, creating mole

cules of greater and greater

complexity, until the first truly self-

replicating molecule was produced.

The trouble is, nobody knows how long this prebiotic phase

lasted, or whether the first organ-

ism formed on Earth's surface, in

else entirely. Also, scientists are sharply divided over whether the

formation of life was a completely

freak occurrence, unique in the uni-

result given the right conditions.

verse, or a more or less inevitable

Even if life on Earth is a squillion

to-one freak occurrence, we cannot

rule out life on Mars. Over the last

decade or so, geologists have be-come convinced that a handful of me-

Mars. In fact, a fragment of one has

been in the possession of the University of Adelaide for years. The mete-

orite in the news, containing possible

from the Antarctic ice sheet.

micro-fossils, was recovered in 1986

It may seem baffling that chunks of Mars are found right here on

Earth. How do they get here? The

answer is simple. Every few million

verse: big impacts with Earth eject

ment for Martian thermophiles.

Earth's rocks harbour micro organisms, then material displaced nto space by impacts could convey live microbes to the Red Planet whereupon they may emerge and colonise their new home. Co cooned in a rock, a microbe would be shielded from the ultra-violet and cosmic radiation of outer space. In spore-like form, it might To reach Mars alive, microbes must survive their projection from Earth and the heat and shock of the hot underworld, or somewhere

entry into the Martian atmosphere Jay Mellosh of the University of Arizona suggests that considerab quantities of rocks ejected by major impact would in fact remain relatively unscathed. Moreover, a reasonable fraction of rocks that strike the Martian atmosphere at a glancing angle would slow and explode, spilling their microbial cargo gently to the ground. Today any space-faring bugs would enteorites found on Earth originated on counter harsh and probably lethal conditions on Mars. But in the past, when conditions were more favourable, they might have felt at

> My conclusion, first presented at series of lectures in Italy in 1993, and described in my book Are We Alone?, is that Earth and Mars may well have cross-fertilised each other During the first billion years, when nicrobial life began to establish itself on Earth, this interplanetary contant

> ination might have been common. The new evidence presented by Nasa strongly supports this theory. If a fossil microbe can reach Earth from Mars, it is likely that a live microbe can do so too. If so, it would be hard to tell whether life ongnated on Earth or Mars, or on both independently. It may turn out that Mars was the more favourable location. In which case we would all be lescended from Martians.

Paul Davies is Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of

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the front, waving a pistol, ahead of miners hurling sticks of dynamite,
His loyalty was of a similar calwages and the removal of food subsiminers hurling sticks of dynamite. ibre: after the brief, bloody civil war, ... dies, . Siles sent in the army to

MARTINS

HOTELS & APARTMENTS

Stars in their eyes

Derek Malcolm

HAT you should know be-fore you see Indepen-dence Day is the epic, about the day the Earth almost copped its lot from hostile aliens. bears a 12 certificate. You are not going to be scared out of your wits. The first thought you have when you come out is that it is, in fact, a kids' movie for adults.

This is not to downgrade it, but merely to point out that it's less a Close Encounters or Dr Strangelove and more the kind of epic Irwin Allen lusted to make. Lavish in scale, corniall to a T and a wonderfully enthusiastic blend of fifties scifi and seventies disaster movies, it works well because it fixes so determinedly on the cinema's past while pasting on to it the kind of special effects the dozens of movies it copies simply couldn't contemplate at the time.

Its one original thought is that the world is saved not by some noble-looking superstar but by the combined resources of a slightly eccentric Jew (Jeff Goldblum), a cocky black American (Will Smith). a drunken specimen of white trash (Randy Quaid) and a President (Bill Pullman) who looks young enough to be Bill Clinton's nephew. Admittedly, it all shows what cardboard

can do for character. The rest of the mortals on display are Hollywood versions of ordinary reality - Goldblum a New York computer nut with a terminally tiresome old kvetch of a father Undd Hirsch) who sports a yarmulke when all seems lost, Smith a cocky pilot straight from Top Gun who has a stripper for a live-in girlfriend and marries her in the middle of it all, and Quaid a sodden Vietnum veteran who really was picked up by aliens years before but can't get anyone to believe him.

All these enthusiastic puppets are strictly at the service of the special effects. These are not always state of the art but never fail to be artful — whether they involve giant spaceships glowering over New York, LA or Iraq, electro-magnetic ray guns rapping the Empire State Building and the White House or supersonic jets burying themselves in the vast maw of the alien mother ship.

Oddly, considering the huge offorts put into the spectacle, the moments when the apocalypse strikes at the population itself are no more awe-inspiring than when, all those years ago, King Kong trampled around New York with poor Fay Wray in his paws. In fact, really far between.

There are some, though, such as when Air Force One, carrying the just ahead of the rolling blast created by the alien firestorm and noses its way into the clear in the nick of time, And when Smith, having got hold of an alien pilot, drags the slimy beast in his parachute across the desert towards his res-

Otherwise, there isn't a single thing in the film you haven't seen before - even if you can't quite recall where you've seen it. The point is that you probably haven't seen it all in one movie, and the mixture is fairly heady.

rect as orchestrate it all with a firm | have our minds blown away by hand on the titler and a shrewd eye | other means

for what a popcorn movie is really

What he's made is not exactly credible, cathartic or even memorably silly, but it is at least all the better for very seldom degenerating either into the camp smile of someone who knows he's only fooling or into the kind of pretension that seems much too hollow to be true.

It is to his credit that he takes the fun seriously, well aware that he is making the biggest B-movie of all time. He's prepared to be simplemindedly patriotic and, in so doing, to underline the feelgood idea that if only we all worked together we could accomplish almost anything.

A marketing campaign that's even more successful than the film itself appears to have done the rest for him. Expect records to full like ninepins here, too.

Chekhov is a good enough writer survive almost anything thrown at him, even in the cinema. Anthony Hopkins's first film as director, August, is a Welsh, but thankfully not a Weish-language, version of Uncle Vanya.

Intelligently adapted by Julian Mitchell and set near the turn of the century, this is not a tricksy attempt to achieve new relevance but solid, steady, often very well-acted Vanya, much in the British veln, which focuses on the idea of lives wasting away in the countryside, succoured by drink and sourness.

Of course, you can't help but make the shooting incident funny and that the film certainly does, with Hopkins's Vanya, now called leuan, attacking Leslie Phillips's pompous professor as the whole family dive hysterically for cover.

Hopkins is a very fine leuan-Vanya, a disappointed souse permanently kicking against the minor pricks of life as if, in doing so, he'll eventually affect the major ones. As a director, he watches himself minutely but very seldom hogs the screen. Kate Burton is fine as the dried-up beauty whom everyone, except possibly her dreadful hus-



August . . . Anthony Hopkins stars in his directing debut

an imposing-looking local doctor, rushing off to deal with injured miners between drinking buckets of everyone else's whisky. Phillips is in Loch Lomond Kilts. It's a far cry as intolerable as he has to be as the hollow professor.

What I liked about this very well designed and nicely shot production is that, despite its lack of real cinematic flair, it allows you to see the play clearly and illustrates the drip, drip, drip of disappointed hopes

with considerable precision. If that's dull, it must be because we've forgotten what it's like to lis-Emmerich doesn't so much di- I ten in the cinema as opposed to



Double Hedda . . . Harriet Walter as Ibsen's tragic heroine and Donald Threlfall as the laconically self-

One for the money, two for the show

Michael Billington

WO Heddas are better than one. In fact the chance to see two diferent productions of Hedda Gabler - English Touring Theatre's at London's Donmar Warehouse and a new version at the Minerva Studio. Chichester - intensifies one's admiration for Ibsen's technical mastery and the mystery of acting. But f Stephen Unwin's production wins on points over Lindy Davies's at Chichester, it is because it realises a fundamental truth: that Ibsen is providing a portrait of a society as well as of a tormented individual.

The two Heddas themselves are both extraordinary: a mixture of vixen and victim, predator and prey. Alexandra Gilbreath at the Donmar is the more severe, with her hair pressed flat against her skull and her habit of prowling round the par-lour. Acutely intelligent and totally unfulfilled, she relentlessly probes her own and other people's weaknesses. What she craves is power over an individual destiny but, when she finally achieves it, she is terrified of the consequences. The great moment in Gilbreath's performance | Elvsted, although patronised by comes when, having sent Eilert | Hedda and Lovborg, has the selfless

ROCK

Brian Logan

- by its simplicity. You might stop

at Corries tea shop for a cuppa and a

scone; you might linker with tartans

When locals heard that Oasis

were to visit, they kicked up some-

thing of a fuss. How could sleepy Balloch take the strain of these rock

gods and 80,000 boisterous disci-

ples? We have, they protested, only

Yet the horde that flocked to Loch

Lomond last weekend was extended

a warm(ish) reception. "West Dum-

bartonshire Council Welcomes You"

read the signs; West Dumbarton-

one public lavatory.

from . . . well, from Manchester.

Loch 'n' roll with Oasis

Lovborg to certain death, she lets out a cry that starts as triumphant exaltation and turns into gutvrenching despair.

Harriet Walter at Chichester inevitably makes many of the same points; that Hedda combines innate cowardice with a burning envy of Mrs Elvsted and her capacity to shape another human life, Walter, however, lays more stress on Hedda's suppressed romanticism: she yearns for power but also for an impossible "beauty" in life without the ugly reality of hole-in-corner

BOTH READINGS are sustainable and prove the polyphonic richness of Ibsen's play. But the key difference is that Unwin uses a wonderfully crisp translation by Kenneth McLeish and brings all the characters into unremittingly sharp focus. Crispin Letts's Tesman, for instance, is no pedagogic ninny but an intelligent scholar who, at the last, angrily and consciously rejects Hedda's cruelty. David Killick's ludge Brack is a suave militarynoustached lecher who turns the final screw on Hedda with sadistic relish. And Carol Starks's Mrs

Everything in Unwin's produc tion — one of the best Hedda Gablers I've seen - is carefully thought through. When Tesman buries his head in Aunt Julia's lap, you are reminded that he is an or phaned figure constantly seeking mother-substitutes. Unwin creates a whole world that explains the characters' actions.

Lindy Davies's production lacks that mix of detail and linear clarity. Superfluous music introduces each act, speeches overlap, the text "adapted" by Helen Cooper has add anachronisms such as "you can say that again". Above all, the surround ing characters are seen from Hedda's viewpoint rather than their own. Walter's Hedda aside, the one sharply defined performance is David Threlfall's laconically self-

destructive Lovborg. But the real lesson of this double Hedda is that Ibsen wrote not just a great part but a great play; one which the protagonist is destroyed not only by her own nature but b oppressive male-dominal hypocritical society.

At the Domnar you get Ibsen's complete world: at Chichester you get a fine solo performance.

bounded on stage, postured and wiped his arse in now-traditional performing-monkey fashion. The pre-music entertainment involved pooting a bloated football into the crowd. His kick was lame; with adherents like these, it's no wonder Manchester City went down. After some minutes alone - marking out

west of Scotland, we'll know why. From the back of the natural auditorium, next to Balloch Castle, the panorama took in first the stage, then the wooded ebb and swell of the wilds, and to one side the silver, plain of Loch Lomond, disappearing

into a distant gien. The vest crowd was warned, as darkness closed in, to look out for irritating pests. Then Patsy Kensit appeared, peering from the wings. Her flancé needs £50,000 to pay for her engagement ring. It was time for him to start earning it.

Rumour has it that forward-thin?

ing revellers had come to Balloch

The show began, not with a bang,

A MBLE down Balloch's main tion of the arena to bury their drugs beyond the investigation of the will-est police officer. If there is an epiwont to do - Gallagher junior demic of blissed-out rabbits in the joined by his brother and his band. Noel retained his dignity, prov some of the finest moments when the littl'un was taking time out.

When the last guitar string twanged, fireworks exploded into the night sky, shattering once and for all the rural calm. This was a show, all right, Oasis will be hoping that, like those rockets, the recording of the event will propel them into the American stratosph a sea of cuphoric souls broke its banks and spilled out of this some tlines serene glade, leaving an ocean-bed of litter in its wake; Balshire residents, meanwhile, glared | but with 20,000 simpers. Liam | loch would have been hoping so too

GUARDIAN WEBKLY

Second nature

John Gittings

HEN Chinese landscape artists had to produce politically correct works in the age of Mao Zedong, they re-sorted to all sorts of subtle devices. The group of scholars drinking tea beneath the waterfall was replaced by a party of healthy socialist youth. Red flags and pylons sprouted on the mountain peaks.

But modern Chinese art had all ready been wrestling with the rival demands of tradition and modernity for half a century, and the communist revolution only presented a new dimension of complexity.

The results were sometimes banal. But more often they were brilliant, as we can now see in an exciting exhibition at the British Museum until the end of September, which presents this vast subject with admirable clarity.

There is only one pylon picture on show — but it is a classic of its kind, Song Wenzhi's Spring Morning in Lake Dongting (1973) shows junks and black-tiled houses between paddy fields, viewed from a wooded hillside through a wraith of mist — plus the pylons, placed in improbable positions.

More dubious politically, Pan Tianshou's Morning Mist (1961) shows a balding eagle, feathers dishevelled but about to soar off through the gallery. Perhaps Pan intended to illustrate socialist resolvei He was still denounced by Madame Mao for painting a "very gloomy eagle" and accused of being an agent for imperialism.

But the great dialectic between tradition and innovation is much more than a question of politics. embracing form as much as content.

Social realism was explored long before socialist realism — by painters such as Xu Beihong in his naturalistic figure work. In 1912, the Manchu emperors, a far-sighted minister of education proposed the setting-up of a Western-type art school where students would be encouraged to express themselves freely. Traditional painting - the guoliua or "national painting" - had become lifeless and hackneyed, deers, sages and birds. This exhibition | Mist (1961) earned him the title 'agent of imperialism'

presents the various types of innova tive painting that arose.

The Linguan School in Canton

combined modern themes with Chinese techniques. In Shanghai and Beijing the xieyi style of "free and spontaneous brushwork" emerged, with strong bold colour that was often influenced by Western oils. Its proponents included the great master Qi Baishi (1864-1957), the carpenter-turned-painter best known for his birds and shrimps.

Socialist - as distinct from social - realism is poorly represented: the exhibition comes from Hong Kong and reflects the preferences of private collectors there. The revolutionary romanticism of the Cultural Revolution is also ignored, though with the mainland about to take over this may owe more to political caution than to artistic taste.

With the professionals in dis grace Cultural Revolutionary art was produced by collectives of "art workers", with brilliant colours and beroic figures. Peasant paintings tion had a strong effect upon style. All of this is now written off, though here were some striking results.

Traditional art values were quickly re-discovered after Mao's death, for tradition has unusual power in Chinese art. Some painters were actually directed to return to tradition while Mao was still alive. A small group known as the Hotel School was brought together in the early seventies to produce birds- | go now?

and-flower paintings for Chinese embassies abroad and new hotels at home. Today, most paintings of fered for sale to foreign visitors are still in the classical mould, often produced by distinguished provincial painters.

This interplay between tradition and innovation may become circu lar: the artists never entirely escape their cultural roots. Some never want to. And eventually the labels begin to lose meaning. Li Keran is now classed as a traditionalist his scholarly brushwork, yet in the sixtles his naturalistic approach seemed thoroughly modern.

A few artists in this exhibition mostly younger, mostly outside the mainland, have taken the next step rom innovation to invention.

There was until recently a strong want garde on the mainland, here represented by Shao Fei, who began her painting during the Cultural Revolution in the People's Liberation Army, I first met her work in the heady time of Democracy Wall (1979-80), when a group of anuteurs calling themselves the Single Spark sought to set art alight with a hotch otch of surrealism and symbolism.

Outside the Beijing Art Gallery, one artist had put up a mocking poster: Question: I can't understand this picture. All I can see is colours eaping about.

Answer: You have understood th picture correctly,

This fascinating exhibition raise deeper question, beyond the birds and pine trees, whether in traditional or innovative style; where will Chinese art, already 2000 years old,



Ruffled feathers . . . The 'gloomy eagle' in Pan Tianshou's Morning

League of his own

Andrew Clements applauds the Proms for devoting a whole day to the work of Igor Stravinsky

HE arguments about who are the most important composers of the 20th century have started already, and are likely to carry on well into the next millennium without any real likelihood of a consensus. But one figure is above the discussion: Igor Stravinsky will be the first name down on

There is no one else in our era whose achievement has been so mmense and so varied, no one, perhaps in the whole history of music, who has altered its course as drastically in a single work as he did in 1913 with the premiere of The Rite Of Spring. And there is no major composer whose career underwent so many changes of direction yet who managed to stay so true to himself, never writing a single bar of music that was not imprinted with his distinctive personality. On Sunday, the Proms devoted a whole day to his music — three concerts spanning his output - and it's hard to think of anyone who deserves that

accolade more thoroughly. If Stravinsky began his composing career as a paradigm of modrnism - one of the pioneers, along with Debussy, who took music into a brave new world in the first decades of the century - he ended it in a self-contained musical world that was entirely his own creation, refining his own austere version of serial technique which moved in an entirely different direction from that taken by the young lions of the postwar avant garde.

His earliest published work, the F sharp minor Piano Sonata, was begun in 1903, when he was studying in St Petersburg with Rimsky-Korsakov; his last completed composition, a setting of Edward Lear's The Owl And The Pussy Cat, was completed in 1966. And he lived and composed through the most tumultuous and rapidly changing period in musical history, often acting as the catalyst for the changes

Born in 1883, the year Wagner

Reich and Glass, had already begun to forge their own new language, which itself would have been unthinkable without the example of Stravinsky's own emancipation of pulse and rhythm 60 years earlier. It was a long journey through an everchanging musical landscape, which took Stravinsky physically through four countries, beginning in prerevolutionary Russia and ending in the United States, where he settled

at the start of the second world war. It is of course his early masterpieces, especially the first three ballets for Diaghiley, The Firebird, Petrushka, and The Rite Of Spring. that have remained Stravinsky's most popular and most often performed scores. But his output was enormous, and there are still major works from all periods in his life that remain too little known.

The 1922 opera Mayra, a farewell

to his Russian heritage, is hardly ever heard, let alone staged; many of the major neo-classical scores are part of the occhestral repertory, but the haunting melodrama Persephone of 1934 gets an airing less often than it deserves. And though the Proms included a performance of The Flood, Stravinsky's highly compressed version of the biblical Creation, written in 1962, the late works have never established them selves. Even Agon, a ballet masterpiece from 1957, to be ranked at least alongside Petrushka and Apollo, is only a fixture in the ballet. repertory. But pieces like Threni, his first completely serial score, the iconoclastic Movements for piano and orchestra, and the last major work Regulem Canticles, which looks back over 60 years to the

church, remain virtually unknown. Without a grasp on those late pieces especially, the full breadth of Stravinsky's creativity is hard to delineste. Everything he touched he made his own: even Pulcinella, the 1920 reworking of Pergolesi that made the whole of his, and everyone else's, neoclassicism possible sounds modern, 20th century, and could have been conceived by one composer, it was one of his turning points; after that epiphany there was no going back. But then there was never any going back; Stravinsky's music always went forward, always

liturgy of the Russian Orthodox

died, by the time of his own death in 1972 the early minimalists, Riley,

sought out new challenges and always, triumphantly, met them.

Holmes on the Waterloo warpath

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

A /AR WALKS (BBC 2), like

V good general, does wonders with very limited resources. The field and farms of one musket . . . and one historian, Richard Holmes, terrierlike in manner and moustache.

Waterloo literally was a foreign field, a few acres of farmland, fertile with blood and bone. It is very quiet now. The countryside s featureless and flat. The sky is vast and vacant.

Holmes knocked on the door of La Haye Sainte, which was an ibbatoir on June 18, 1815. It is still a working farm. The farmer keeps the shot he finds in a pewter pot and is not much troubled with tourists: "There's nothing to see." But is there

othing to hear . . . sometimes .. on quiet summer nights? The 27th Regiment

iniskillings) fought until they fell, still in their square. A small granite headstone records their noble record of stubborn endurance and Wellington's bleak tre of my line."

You can tell that this was not a man to waste breath on adjectives. Asked if it was true that he shouted, "Up guards and at 'em!", he denied it. "I probabl said, 'Stand up, guarda. Make ready. Firel' " I seem to hear the reporter of the Waterloo Bugle groan. That is not the same thing

The temperamental difference between Napoleon and Wellington is something you can taste. Apart from the obvious: clues, guess which one flung open his jacket, showing his

bemedalled breast, crying, "Soldiers, would you shoot your Emperor?" and which one wrote "PS. I forgot to tell you I was

As Sellar and Yeatman said, Napoleon wore his hat like this and Wellington wore his hat like going to get on. However, I did notice that Wellington had a lifesized, naked, marble statue of Napoleon in his London house.

Odd, really. Waterloo was the last, great, bareknuckle fight. They seem now like another

said, "Good God, my leg's been struck off!" Wellington replied, "Good God, man, so it has." When Marshai Blücher was ridden over by three French cavalry charges, he got up and headed for the sound of gunfire. He was 73. Endurance was a necessary

breed of men. When Lord Paget

military virtue before what Queen Victoria was to call "this blessed, blessed chloroform". "For God's sake, die like a

man before these 'ere Frenchies,

a sergeant said to a groaning oldier in a field hospital. Holmes showed us a surgeon's tools, a cannon ball and how to fire it, a musket and how to shoot it. Steven Clarke's imag-

sniff of a horse, gave some real

feeling of a cavalry charge. Napoleon, going into exile, said ironically there would be time to write his memoirs. Wellington did not write How I Won Waterloo. You just knew he

It said in this book I was reading that yawning and groaning are good for you. Nothing like a good groan, apparently, for oxyenating and empowering you. So how come I need a holiday when I get a good hour's yawning and groaning every week with Savannah (ITV)?

Savannah is one of Aaron Spelling's flock of turkeys. Spelling specialises in family feuds and dirty dealings. You will recognise - from the original Dynasty template galvanic plot, the sudden squalls, the impossibility of predicting anyone's behaviour, the frequent but decently draped

sex on a roulette table. Easier than on a roulette wheel. I

sex, the teeth.

Peyton is the daughter of Lucille, who is behind bers that would hold back a bear, for killing Travis, who was married to Reece, the daughter of Edward, whose wife ran away with the father of Tom because he had an illegitimate daughter. Peyton: (See above.) Oh, do try

and keep up. Next week Edward runs for the Senate and founds a Home for Fallen Women. Tell me how it works out. I'm off.

Time to give up the day job

Mark Lawson

by Ben Elton Simon & Schuster 298pp £12.99

HERE is an inevitable suspicion of novelists already established as celebrities in other fields. They are able to bypass the traditional apprenticeship of fiction and appeal to a ready-made readership. So one of the impressive aspects of Ben Elton's terrific fourth novel is the clear sense that he has worked and worried at the craft. Although his first three books were easy bestsellers, he seems to have comprehended their faults sprawling construction, hectoring tone, fashionable causes — and set himself to correct them.

Popcorn takes place over one day - Academy Awards night in Hollywood - and takes on only one sub lect: the relationship between screen violence and street violence.

Oliver Stone is currently being sued by the family of a murder victim who claim that the killer took his cue from the director's movies. Elton's fictional Oscar-winner, Bruce Delamitri - whose ironic, post-modernist splatter movies are an obvious homage to both Stone and Quentin Tarantino - suffers an audience reaction more cruel and Bruce's Oscar acceptance speech terrible than any lawsuit. On the night that Bruce wins the Best Film are the wind beneath my wings and I "Anonymous", the spot-the-author



Ben Elton: spirited and intelligent

loodbath, a pair of psychopathic mass-murderers who can recite every line of his films break into the irector's Malibu home and take him hostage with assorted family

and colleagues.

This inspired fictional premise is developed at three equally convincing levels: as a comedy, as a thriller and as a genuine moral debate. Given Ehon's previous form as a comedian and co-writer of the Blackadder scries, the jokes are the least surprising of these achievements. They are, though, very sharp.

flap for you ..."—is a fine parody of that notoriously vapid rhetorical form. The extracts from Bruce's film in which suspiciously literate killers deconstruct figures of speech between slayings — also come from a recognisable cinematic reservoir. Pressed by a bimbo television presenter on whether viewers imitate what they see, Bruce smartly replies that If this were true all her own viewers would "have their hair set in concrete and their brain sucked out along with their cellulite". More surprising is the book's

tight plotting. The star of stand-up has contrived a stand-off of real tenaion, in which Bruce's kidnappers, Wayne and Scout, broadcast live on every channel in America. The killers, children of the TV age, have asked for a direct feed from the ratings computer, so that they can watch their fame inflate second by second. The story takes a fiendish final twist, which it would be spiteful to reveal, other than to say that the American people are asked to make lives of the hostages. This sacrifice involves such a deeply enshrined modern American right — the right to voyeurism — that they prove un-

able to make it. This spirited and intelligent book The really startling aspect of the about whether entertainment can book, however, is its stance. If the novel had, in the modern American engender imitation certainly leaves

Paperbacks

pleces would surely have fingered Richard Littlejohn or Paul Johnson rather than this established jester of

the left. There are grouches about

"self-righteous feminism, the mod-ern equivalent of hiding behind a

woman's petticoats", while the

young are spikily libelled in the line:

Generation X? Generation X-

tremely fucking stupid." The novel

does not, in fact, support censorship

of violent movies. Elton is variously

nide and kind to both sides of the

The target for his anger is more

general: what he sees as an endemic

American tendency to transfer re-

ponsibility to someone else. The

idulterer who declares himself a

ex addict and checks into a clinic.

The child who kills both parents

and blames sexual abuse in child-

hood. The media point the finger at

the politicians; the politicians ac-

cuse the media. The killer accuses

the film-maker; the film-maker in-

dicts society. "Nobody gets blamed for anything in this country," Bruce

laments at gun-point. "Nothing is anybody's fault." You can easily

imagine these points being made in

some non-fiction tract called

"Blameless Nation". But what's

most impressive about Popcorn is

its integration of story and thought.

The plot-twists detonate the moral

dilemmas, the commentary is in the

Nicholas Lezard

Notes From a Small Island, by Bill Bryson (Black Swan, 18.0)

NIGEL WILLIAMS'S Four Wimbledon To Waco about a Brit in America, and a funny. This is about an America over here, and funny. Bryson is two major advantages: he has been over here for some time, and or write. Sample throwaway line: 🕏 all I knew, when a car had an Lole on the back of it, it indicated that was being driven by a leper." M only is this book hilarious, it is farewell love-letter to this country, work of generosity and intelligen that should shame us into treaty our heritage better. Bon vome Bill, and please do come back son

BSE: the Facts, by Brian J Ped (Corgl, £4.99)

THE ONLY fact everyone seed I to agree on is that John Selm Gummer shouldn't have crannel that beef burger into his per daughter's mouth aix years as Still, this has the air of being ! pretty useful book, readable, st prone to hysteria and capable taking the long view. (He also point out the startlingly counter-intime fact that kine are, technically, can vores. Check it out: pp 89-91) Als has the best blurb copy ever se: on the back of a book: "It must be read by everyone who eats."

Goethe's Collected Works, Volume 12: Scientific Studies ed & tra Douglas Miller (Princeton, £12.95)

PRINCETON'S 12-volume was represents only about a tenth of output, but it's the best Englished tion we're ever going to get T volume contains large chunks he his scientific writings, and she time has proved many of k theories wrong, he was far les wrong than most of his content raries. His "Theory of Colour" w he thought, the best thing he'd end written; "Towards a Theory Weather" has passages which com close to poetry — understands enough, considering how imput the natural world was to him.

Trainspotting: The Screenpli by John Hodge (Faber, £8,99)

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Arthur C Clarke at his Colombo home

Clarke's final odyssey

A RTHUR C CLARKE, the fu-I turist guru and grand old man of science fiction, has completed what he expects to be his ast major flight of fancy, the final

Clarke, aged 79, secreted imself in Colombo's oldest

The deal is understood to be one of the largest yet for a science fiction work. Clarke, who moved to Sri Lanka from his native Britain in 1952 to indulge his passion for scuba diving, will say only: "It's a nine-figure sum, and that's including the cents."

irthur C Clarke has written more than 70 books. Following the massive success of the 1968 anley Kubrick film 2001: A pace Odyssey, co-written with

His latest book is set on Ganymede, Jupiter's largest moon. According to Del-Rey, work on the novel was delayed by the Challenger disaster in 1986, Mr Clarke had hoped to use information from the Galileo space probe but had completed

the work by the time the first images of Ganymede were beamed

Mr Clarke is revered not merely for weaving hi-tech fantasies but for predicting technological developments long before anyone else bas dreamt of them. As a young RAF officer, he de-

scribed a system of "rocket ata-tions" in fixed orbits over the earth that might some day be used to beam communication between different points on the earth's surface. Now communi cation via geostationary satellites is taken for granted.

The final novel in the Space Odvasey series explores the idea of cyber-warfate, one of Mr Clarke's current preoccupations. "If the technology was available, computers could cause havoc with things like defence systems," he says.

The author is largely confined syndrome. He stays abreast of echnological developments, keeping in touch with a network of scientists via the Internet, and monitoring the beavens with his roof-top telescope.

He is now resting after comleting 3001: A Final Odyssey, and says he is in the process of teaching his computer how to "take dictation". Meanwhile he is following news of Hollywood interest in his latest book with relish. "My agent is dealing with over 80 offers - but of course Stanley Kubrick has first refusal."

A man for all futuristic seasons

On the eve of the publication of his new short stories, sci-fi author Ray Bradbury talks to Tom Hutchinson

throats by quoting Ray Bradbury. Their exodus from Moses directs them into the promised lands of the veteran science fiction writer

Bradbury discovered that some Bible-belters were getting uplift from him when they wrote to thank inn. "I was so flattered. I had letters saying that some of them were reading my more optimistic fiction from the pulpit. And the congregations were going for it!" So what did he do? What any

American go-getter would do. Like one of the pioneering people about whom he wrote so persuasively in The Martian Chronicles and The Golden Apples Of The Sun, he leapt m the bandwagon of the main

To coincide with the September sublication of Quicker Than The Eye, a book of short stories, he's also written A Chap-Book For Burnt-Out Rabbis, Priests And Ministers. That's specially for those who would like an alternative. I may not feel they have to be' believe in their personal religions, out I have tremendous faith in the Cosmos, in the Life Force for good."

A forgivable belief in himself, too. As the premiere of the spectacular science-fiction movie Independence Day looms over Britain like a vast mother-ship, Bradbury has taken out an advertisement in Daily Variety urging that The Martian Chronicle be similarly filmed. "The ad cost me 4,000 bucks, but I wanted producers to know it was still available."

Raymond Douglas Bradbury is 76 next month, but he is still a mighty player on America's literary and media scene, proclaiming that independence Day proves something he nas always said, something filmmakers were too stupid to understand: that fantasy always makes money at the box-office."

"You know, Independence, with its threat of alien invasion, is a throwback to the paranoid SF film

HEN American preachers choke on the Old Testanent, they clear their of the fitties, The Day The World Stood Still or my own It Came From Outer Space. With this new film the aliens mean us harm. To that extent it's anti-ET or Close Encounters Of The Third Kind, with creatures that meant us good. Once again we're under threat."

Christopher Isherwood called Bradbury a poet; chubby and bespectacled, he is still a man with a head full of singing birds, though now they've been orchestrated to sing to a pitch that makes him one of the richest writers around. He has become a literary superstar. The Apollo 15 astronauts named a ifter his book Dandelion Wine. His creativity still revs at top-

it is not that people in Hollywood are naturally dishonest: ust that some of them

speed. The man who carned his first money in literature at the ageof 15, by writing gags for cornedian George Burns, has just written a treatise for The Shaw Society with a title as unwieldy as its ideas are supple - GBS: Refurbishing The Tin Woodman; Science Fiction With A Heart, A Brain And The Nerve, It's the Shavian idea of a life-force to which he corresponds.

He speaks with brimming enthusiasm: "I know it sounds painfully corny, but every minute of being dive is an adventure, a festival of liscovery." Part of that ongoing euphoria is in being married to Maggie, who has borne him four daughters, so that he now has seven

But, for a writer, he has had a life rich in physical incldent outside his rendous was scripting Moby Dick for John Huston who, while they ers to beat him up because of a disagreement. Bradbury escaped the boxers, but not the trauma of the

Years later, he went up to the great man in a restaurant. "I want you to know I forgive you," he said.
"You changed my life." Maggie said: "But you hate him so. Why did you do that?" Bradbury responded: "But he did change my life - for the better. After Moby Dick I could take my talent anywhere." He wrote a novel about Huston, though, to fully exorcise the experience from his

He has always seen Hollywood as, literally, a Planet Hollywood: a place where human beings become olien in their dealings with each other. When he was asked to script The Beast From 20,000 Fathous be realised it had been plagiarised from his own story, The Foghorn. Shannefacedly, the producer paid up

"It's not that people in Hollywood are naturally dishonest; it's just that some of them feel that they have to

Ray Bradbury bears no grudges but he wishes that movies had happier endings, "What I mean is that villains should get their comeuppance . . . Films are for solving lit Not for making it more difficult "

He plans mightily ahead He wants to write another treatise, on the way Herman Melville's Mobe Dick resembles Jules Verne's Twenty Thousand Leagues Under The Sea: "Captain Ahab is the reverse of Captain Nemo. And I can

prove it in so many ways." He left me to go on holiday with his beloved Maggie in his beloved France. A man who has seen his dreams become reality around him. A renaissance man for all futuristic

Later, I got a note thanking me for being his guest at luncheon. He had paid for the hunch. They don't make men with manners like that these days. Unless, of course, they

Kiss and make up

Darian Leader

On Kissing: From the Metaphysical to the Erotic by Adrianne Blue Gollancz 224pp £14.99

A T WHAT moment is it best to stop talking and to start kissing? Some people, it would seem, prefer talking and others prefer kissing, but it is certain that you can't do both at the same time. Kissing may do away with speaking, but a kiss has always got something to say.

kisses, you know a lot about that person. You know what they have kissed themselves and you know, Kisses themselves can be greedy, meek, impertinent, uncommunicative. They can be dry, moist, wet, transitory, interminable. They can, telling which becomes, for the barrier of klssing.

Adrienne Blue, have turned their at-tention to kissing, have concluded that the erotic kiss has its source in the suckling relation of child to mother. This is unsound. Suckling and kissing are fundamentally different activities, in the sense that suckling is not initially a learnt activity, but kissing is. For many men, the only thing that matters about a woman's bosom is the success - or failure - of making the nipple erect. If there is indeed a link to in the discontinuities of the kiss -ing, of withdrawing.

Kissing, as its historics show, la a been doing, or not doing, you know sign. The Christian klss of peace, if they believe in romance or lust, the Judas klss of betrayal, the divine you know how they would like to be kiss which impregnates the Virgin. the kiss of salutation, the Malia kiss too, if they have been to the movies. | of death - they all show how an action, by taking on disparate meanings, can become a sign of something elso. Hence the question, to what extent is an erotic kiss a in short, tell you a lot. It is this | sign? Does it point, like those other kisses, to something else or is it an lover, both the sweetness and the end, a satisfaction in itself? Some men have the curious idea that if an-Many of the scholars who, like other creature consents to a kiss.

that means that intercourse will follow. How can we be sure that a kiss might not mean more, or less, than we think? And if we think after a kiss, what happens when, in kissing, we think? Perhaps the real problem of kissing is exactly that: since the kiss is a sign, it makes us think, but if we think when we kiss, we botch

Adrienne Blue's volume cataogues not just the erotic kiss, but the kiss in (some) literature, history, photography and sculpture. She devotes one section of her book to a discussion of Rodin's "The Kiss". kissing, it will not be in sucking but It is a fact that if all the world loves a lover, not all the world loves the man love him because they think that he is not thinking, but enjoying. The public kisser would be hated half as much if it was realised that his or her kiss was, already, half a thought.

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Colm Tóibín

Outsider inside Catalonia

The Lone Man by Bernardo Atxaga translated by Margaret Juli Costa Harvill £15,99 hdbk; £9,99 pbk

TOWARDS the end of The Lone Man, Bernardo Atxaga's second novel, his hero Carlos, a former Basque terrorist living outside Barcelona, looks at the people around him. "Of all the people he saw as they drove towards Calle Aribau, only four seemed to inhabit the same territory as him: a thin man who looked like a criminal, a couple who looked like junkies and the injured or ill person being transported in an ambulance with the siren blaring." Carlos is an existential hero and a Basque in Catalonia. He enjoys only baking bread, play-

around an ancient spring close to the hotel which he and two friends have bought on the proceeds of a Carlos likes women, and watches them carefully, and has built a special underground room, a dungeon with cushions, where he can go with them. But the new hotel receptionist wants nothing to do with him, and in any case two Basque te

lats are hiding in his den. This novel is slow and dense and heavy going at times; often there is too much detail, too much repetition. Carlos is plagued by a literary device whereby two dead characters whisper comments and warnings into his ear throughout the book, and most of the time this is irritating and disconcerting. But his character is so carefully imagined and rendered with such precision and authenticity that the narrative becomes compelling.

It would have been easy for Atxaga to have written a novel about an old terrorist being forced to hide fascinating.

All around him. His progress will be come to be questioned.

two of his comrades, with car chases and cheap thrills, but he has avoided all of that. He has portrayed instead with great force a deeply wounded individual, haunted by the Basque country, by his brother who is in a mental hospital and by a lost

Terrorism in the book is shown as a dull and unexciting business, and for this alone Atxaga should be given a prize. (He has won most of the Spanish literary prizes.) Carlos's time in prison is barely mentioned in the book and yet Atxaga manages to suggest that Carlos and his two colleagues in the hotel are still recovering from being locked up, and are, indeed, still incarcerated in the hotel. They dream of a new life, but

it is clear that he is locked into his days on the edge of the motorway. The Lone Man is an old-fash ing with his two dogs and hanging ioned novel: the lone, male antihero, the outsider, gets small comfort from the world around him. his gloom and ennui impel the parrative. But it is also an interesting portrait of modern Spain. The Basque in Catalonia becomes a brilliant image of alienated man. And

> the future means very much, has a certain resonance in Spain now. In his first novel Atxaga inherited the legacy of Borges and Juan Goytlsolo; in this new book he has moved closer to the world of Sartre and Comus, and been distracted somewhat by too many devices, but the power of the writing is still there. It is now Atxaga's fate, or few Basque writers ever to be translated to have to deal with the lack of

Britain's flexible friend

The Transformation of British Politics, 1860-1995 Oxford 618pp £50 (£14.99 pbk)

■N THE days when English nationalism took the form of simply assuming a tacit superiority rather than painting your face with the flag, there was no greater object of veneration than "the English Constitution" - the title, of course, of Wal-

ter Bagehot's classic book. At the outset of his own formida ble study, Brian Harrison says of Bagehot: "The English Constitution is the inevitable starting point for any account of how British government has come to be what it now is."

While Whiggish historians once celebrated the unfolding of a pattern of parliamentary government that was the envy of the world, historical revisionism now suggests other perspectives, focused on a decline in confidence in British institutions and a readiness to entertain constitutional reform. The monarchy has tumbled precipitately from the picture of former terrorists re- the public esteem it enjoyed in the leased by an amnesty running an post-war period, giving republican hotel, unsure that either the past or | projects a credibility which they liament has lost prestige; politicians are no longer accorded respect in

pursuing an honourable calling. Proposals for electoral reform re-flect dissatisfaction with the British view that its virtue rests in its cenmodel of adversarial politics, legitimated in a two-party system. The Civil Service, once lauded as a Rolls-Royce machine, has been cut back, ously shown by both major parties. maybe his good luck, as one of the lits mandarin ethic challenged by the norms of new public management. Issues of national identity have ofa literary tradition in his own lan- fered the strongest challenge since guage and the wealth, almost ex- the Home Rule crisis to the reprehausted perhaps, of tradition that is sentative claims of Westminster.

Brian Harrison is an admirable guide to the history that has produced the state of our current politics. Having begun with a critical examination of Bagehot's system as it existed in the 1860s, Harrison looks at the influence of empire and public welfare in fuelling new demands upon it, and at the various nationalist challenges to the integrity of the United Kingdom. He argues that "the flexibility of the British political system and the responsiveness of those who manage it may yet enable us to retain the cultural, economic, and other benefits of a multi-nation state by the only means feasible in a liberal soci-

ety: through combining curbs on central government with a genuine belief in local self-government". Unfashionably maintaining that it

ain't broke, Harrison is sceptical about any need to fix it — at least in any respect that breaks with the cremental patch-and-mend style of British constitutional tinkering. Indeed, the monarchy is one of two subjects which bring out unwonted feelings of awe in this otherwise disassionate author. Hence his confidence that "the British constitution's flexibility will no doubt ensure that common sense prevails in this area have not enjoyed this century. Par- as so often earlier elsewhere".

The only other object for which Harrison manifests such constant regard is the two-party system. He has made himself spokesman of the trist tendencies. This is all of a piece with his eminently impartial com-mendation of the liberalism vari-

But Harrison has no time for the suggestion that it was the electoral system that helped keep Thatcher in power, since all that was needed was overt Lib-Lab coalition or merger Just like that! It seems odd in a book so fruitfully committed to a historical understanding of British politics.

ian Katz in New York and Flora Botsford in Colombo

> volume in the series of novels that began with 2001: A Space

lotel for three months to finish 3001: The Final Odyssey, to be iblished next spring by the New ork company Del-Rey Books.

Since as a young boy he began

day-dreaming about the future, the director, he penned two more volumes of the futuristic apace adventure.

Airmail postage costs (per both Europe Rest of West

Lee Sharpe left Mancheste

United to join Leeds in a £4 million

swoop. The England winger had

failed to hold down a regular place

in the Double-winning side last

season and the arrival of Karel

Poborsky and Jordi Cruyff at Okl

Trafford left him with an uphill task

to regain a first-team place. So he

Sharpe's arrival followed the de-

parture from the Elland Road chil

of midfield duo Gary McAllister and

Gary Speed to Coventry and Ever

signed French right-back Serge Ro-

mano from FC Martigues on a free

transfer, and Coventry completed

the signing of 22-year-old Belgian

international Reggie Genuux from

Also on the move was goalkeepe

Bruce Grobbelant, Released by

Southampton at the end of last

season, the Zimbabwe international

signed a 12-month contract with the

Second Division newcomers Ply-

mouth Argyle. The club also ob

ained the services of tormer

Leicester City central defender

Tony James from Hereford United.

with his fee to be determined by a

Former England coach Terry

Venables agreed to become

Portsmouth's new director of foot-

ball. He said: "I have had more sub-

stantial offers from abroad but at

this time I need to be close to

Meanwhile in a shock move Arse

nal dismissed Bruce Rioch from the

post of team manager. The club said

hey had found a successor but de-

Standard Liege for C1 million.

opted to move.

on respectively.

tribunat.

Wolverhampton

N AN angry, screeching wheeze, a harassed female grey squirrel at the bottom of the garden has had enough of male squirrels behaving badly, and is giv-ing them what for. She's not the only one. A shrill chorus of conservation and land-owning agencies has also got it in for grey squirrels. And if they have their way the pesky varmints won't breed. Ever.

Grey squirrels have been trouble ever since they were introduced to Britain from North America in the late 19th century. They stand accused of criminal damage to young trees; egg-stealing and disrupting nesting birds; nicking nuts from bird tables: and, most seriously causing the decline of the red squirrel. For their punishment, they must he cleansed; shot, poisoned, trapped, infected with an impotency virus. And why not? After all, they're only tree-rats, invading aliens, vermin.

The British population of red squirrels peaked at several million In 1915, but began to fall from 1920 and has now crashed to 160,000. The grey squirrel population has meanwhile risen to 21/million.

Greys are better at digesting nuts. Reds are fussier about nuts, but are much lighter animals and need to bulk up for hibernation. So if the greys have nabbed all the nuts, it's curtains for the reds. This has led to renewed efforts to protect the woods where red squirrels survive and to proposals to attack the greys. According to a recent discovery, grey squirrels may have introduced a disease into red squirris that is hastening their decline.

The strategy for red squirrel conservation, launched this month. comes from an alliance of powerful interests. The Country Landowners Association, the Forestry Commission and the Timber Growers Association do not just want to protect the red squirrel: they have been waging war on greys for decades because of the damage greys cause to



biological diversity, and to crusade

the legal protection of the endangered red squirrel, as well as scienagainst others. Conservation is seen lific institutions and wildlife groups, y some as protecting the nature we like from the nature we don't. are there to protect and enhance Reaction to "problem" alien biodiversity. In short, the dice are loaded against grey squirrels. species involves moral decisions.

Although the effort to protect red squirrels and their habitats is to be applauded, the strategy for cleansing Britain of grey squirrels raises mportant issues which deserve a

"Wildlife" emerged as a concept studded with images of "flagship" species in conservation circles. Our endearing native red, with its Squirrel Nutkin associations, offers a powerful image. By contrast the greys fly the Jolly Roger and are prey to the xenophobia levelled at "invasive alien species". Ecological intervention tends to champion cerwoodland. Agencies charged with I tain aspects of nature and forms of

Oberwart is always one of the strongest European opens due its geographical convenience for the large number of hungry Russian, Ukrainian and Serbian grandmasters who arrive in their battered Ladas and normally depart loaded with Deutschmarks. Despite such powerful opposition, Sadler won his first three rounds against unrated opponents and then scored 5/6 against GMs. Sadler was favourite to retain his title when the annual BCF congress

opened last week at Nottingham

University. More than 700 players

are contesting the national cham-

pionships for women, veterans, and age-group titles for juniors and girls, down to under-sevens.

4 cxd5 exd5 5 Bg5 Few GMs like to defend the Queen's Gambit exchange variation since Black's game

M Sadler (Eng) v

V Burmakin (Rus)

Be7 6 e3 h6 7 Bh4 0-0 8 Bd3 Nbd7 9 Nge2 b6 10 0-0 c5 11 Rc1 Bb7 12 Bb1 c4 13 f3 Re8 14 Bf2 a6 15 Ng3 Bd6 16 Re1 b5 17 a3 Qb6 18 Nf5 Bc7 19 Qd2 a5 20 a4 b4. Black's unsophisticated strategy — gaining Lebensraum on the Q-side but ignorowe it to the red squirrel to do what ing the rest of the board — often we can to help it back from the appears in amateur chess. Sadler reates it in classical style by driving Black's rook and bishop out, then complete removal of grey squirrels breaking through in the centre.

n Britain would not be tolerated by 21 Nb5 Bb8 22 e4! dxe4 23 the public, even if it were possible, d5 Qa6 24 d6 Bc6 If exf3 25 Rxe8 how much of a slaughter should we Nxe8 26 Qd4 fxg2 27 Re1 is crushing, 25 Ne7+ Kf8 26 Nxc6 Qxc6 sanction in the process? There is much more at stake here than a sim-27 Qd4 Ne5 If exf3 28 Rxe8+ ple choice between red and grey. Nxe8 (Kxe8 29 Rxc4) 29 Be4 wins.

28 Bxe4 Nxe4 29 Rxe4 f6 30 f4 Nf7 31 Rxe8+ Qxe8 32 d7 Qd8 33 Re1 Be5 Desperation against 34 Re8+.

Chess Leonard Barden

BRITAIN'S 22-year-old champion Matthew Sadler has made 34 fxe5 Nxe5 35 Qd5 R signs. If Nxd7 36 Nd6 Ne5 37 Rx6 another move towards the top eche-Following Oberwart and an ea lon of world chess by winning the traditional Austrian Open at Oberwart with an unbeaten 8/9.

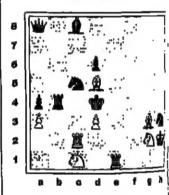
lier first prize in Italy, Sadler's Fulrating will advance to 2,645, when he will join Nigel Short and Michael Adams among the world top 30 play ers. His fine form has sparked grow ing optimism among UK chess fant for next month's olympiad at Yen-van, where England (Short, Adam, Speelman, Sadler, Hodgson, Mile) ahould be seeded third after Russia (Kasparov, Kramnik, Dreev, Svidle) and Hungary (Polgar, Leko, Almed

England has won the Glores and Faber cups for West Europea under-18 teams. Here's a top board queen sacrifice:

M Houska (Eng) v K Roser (Fm)

1 d4 Nf6 2 Nf3 e6 3 Bg5 c5 4 e3 Be7\$ c3 b6 6 Bd3 cxd4 7 exd4 Ba6 8 Bza6 Nxa6 9 0-0 0-0 10 Qd3 Nc7 11 Ne516 12 Nd2 Qe8 13 f4 d6 14 Bxf6 Bxf6 f5. Ng4 Be7 16 f5 exf5 17 Rxf5 g6 18 No. Qd8 19 Nef6+ Bxf6 20 Nxf6+ Kg/2 Raf1 a6 22 Oh3 h6 23 R1f3 Qct 21 Qxh6+ Kxh6 25 Rh3+ Resigns.

No 2434



gainst any defence (by W Barchs) Black's king is stranded, but watch out for near misses.

No 2433: 1 Rg1, if Rxg1 2 d7 Rg6 3 Qa1. if 1 . . . Rg3 2 Rg2l if Rb2? Rc1 and 3 Rc4, Not 1 Rc1? Rxg6.

Golf US PGA Championship

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Brooks springs a major surprise

David Davisa in Louisville

A ARK BROOKS beat the finest field ever assembled when he won the 78th US PGA championship at the Valhalla Golf Club here on Sunday. He beat Kenny Perry, a native Kentuckian, n a sudden-death play-off conducted over the 18th hole when Perry traced a sad trail up the lefthand rough and did not even finish

Brooks, by contrast, found the green in two, hit a putt of all of 70 feet to five feet and holed that for the championship and \$430,000. It was his first major and his third ournament victory of the season. It was also easily his best performance in a major, beating the third place he achieved in the Open Championship of 1995. It was his sixth playoff and he now has a 4-2 winning record in them. He also goes over the 41 million mark this season with \$1.290.576 (about £869.000).

The last nine holes and been a dogfight between Perry, Brooks Vijay Singh and the defending champion Steve Elkington. The lead changed hands constantly as the rough, his second into more rough four men oscillated between nine | and his third just left of the green. A | place to come back from."

Saturday's 71, a birthday score he was 36 — during which, he said,

he felt exceedingly nervous.
On Sunday he had birdied the 13th with a 15-footer downhill that just reached the hole with its last roll and then birdied the short 14th with a 20-footer to get to 12 under. That was almost as good as an eagle, for the pin at this hole was set at the front of the green, almost impossible to get at from the tee, and ogeys were common

Perry looked like letting nerves get the better of him at the 15th, where his second shot disappeared into trees and came to rest among the roots of a tree. "I was very furtunate there," said Perry of his recovery shot. "The ball was resting on bare dirt." He not only got it on the green; he got it to four feet and secured his par.

Eventually he came to the 18th still 12 under, needing a birdie to make matters safe. He bogeyed instead, hitting his drive into the

Champions show Keegan no charity

Football FA Charity Shield: Manchester United 4 Newcastle United 0

on the way to a bogey and Elkington buried his ball in a greenside

as early as the 8th, slumped to nine under after 14 but birdied the 15th and then hit a huge drive up the 18th. Like Elkington he found the front bunker with his second but Perry, now commentating on television, said "he's a great bunker player" and so it proved. He came out to five feet, holed the putt firmly and went into the play-off.

It has been a disappointing championship for Nick Faldo. On Sunday he produced a 73, although this because of the way the course had been set up, was a better effort than either of his two previous rounds. There were some very tough pir positions out there." he commented

"The course beat me, I've got lot of work to do, unfortunately After four holes of the second roun I was 10 behind and that's a tough

and 12 under, although it was Perry who was setting the pace, given that he was out three groups in front of take it was Brooks. Elkington and the others. This was as a result of | Singh both needed birdies at the 18th but Singh drove into a bunker

bunker on the way to a par. Brooks, who had been 12 under

lead the series 1-0.

PETER LEVER is to quit his job as England's bowling coach at



Peter Lever: retiring hurt?

mate's feathers with training techniques that include the playing of patriotic music in the dressing room. Lever refused to comment on the allegations, and Lloyd insisted there was no conflict.

THE man who would be king has finally got his crown. Sachin Tendulkar has been named as India's cricket captain. He takes over from Mohammad Azharuddin, who departs after seven years at the helm. At 23, Tendulkar becomes his country's second-youngest captain after the Nawab of Pataudi, who was 21 when he assumed command in in Sri Lanka later this month.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Test ends in draw

HE SECOND Test between shape, buying players and manager England and Pakistan drifted ial staff in a hectic, last-minute bar to a draw on Monday after heavy rain deprived the Headingley crowd of what might have been a compelling final session of play on

England at that stage had the upper hand after amassing 501 in reply to Pakistan's 448. The high-light of the visitors' innings was 141 runs by Ijaz Ahmed and 105 from Moin Khan - the first centuries by any Pakistanis at Headingley. England hit back with two centuries of their own, a fluent 170 by Alec Stewart and 113 from Nick Knight — his

Under grey skies, Pakistan open ers Saced Anwar and Shadab Kabir came out to begin their side's second innings proceedings shortly after 5pm on Sunday. The umpires offered them the light, they accepted, and minutes later the heavens opened up. Pakistan were 242 for 7 when the game ended. They

the end of the season. It follows reports of a rift with team coach David Lloyd, who is believed to have ruffled his former Lancashire team-

ORMER Australian Test off-spinner Tim May has an

clined to name him. RITISH police say they are win ning the fight against football hooliganism. Figures from the Football Unit of the National Criminal Intelligence Service show a decline in soccer-related arrests for the fourth year running. Arrests during the 1995-96 season both inside and outside grounds totalled 3,437 --- 10 per cent down on the previous sea-

NGLAND are running out of time in their bid to be reinstated in the Five Nations Cham pionships. The Rugby Football Union's attempt to reach a compromise in the row over their £89 million solo television deal has been rejected for a second time.

son. Euro 96, despite dire warnings

turned out to be a remarkably

rouble-free tournament.

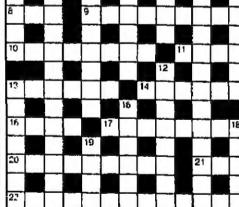
The competition's other four ganising their own schedule by the end of this month, But Tom Kier nan, chairman of the Five Nations Committee, said he still hoped agreement could be reached with

S IRIMONGKOL Singlumanassuk of Thailand won the World Boxing Council's bantamweight title --vacated by Ireland's Wayne McCullough - when he stopped Mexican With the English soccer season due to get under way on Saturday, clubs were limbering into

- 1 Fight (3-2) --
- 2 Areas for novice skiers (7.6) 3 Promontory (8)
- 5 Secure place 6 Parisian

7 Fervent - could

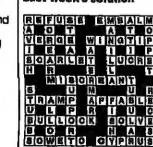
respect (6) 18 Vision - or eyesore (5) 19 Come to -a party (4) landmark (3,2,8)



Importance (7) 12 Baffle (8) 13 God of wine and pleasure (7)

15 Look at - and

Last week's solution



you read on. The story I am about to tell is one of the most the bridge table.

First, a bidding problem. Take

You are playing for serious. but not ruinous stakes. Both sides are vulnerable. South, your right-hand opponent, opens with a strong NT showing 15-17 points. What call do you make

There are a number of possibilities, and your answer will owe something to personality. The conservative will try two hearts, the more daring will bid three bearts, and the eternal optimist will jump to four hearts. But there is another course of action.

What about a penalty double? Chances are that your left-hand opponent is looking at a few high cards, and is confident that his side can make 1NT. He might even be confident enough to redouble! You have seven tricks in your own hand, and if your part-

ner can produce no more than a solitary ace, the opponents will concede a 1,000 penalty in 1NT redoubled, despite their com-bined 26 points. An attractive prospect — and if it does not turn out as you hope, you can always bid your heart sult at a later stage.

Whatever you have chosen to bid, I bet that you haven't selected the call that was actually made. The West player who held these cards was of a highly creative nature — can you guess what he bid?

If you guessed two diamonds, then, like the actual West, you have plenty of imagination. This is what happened (see table).

the trap that West had set for Surely West's action was the

1NT North-South fell headlong into

them. His psychic diamond overcall persuaded North-South that they had nothing to fear in a no trump game, but in practice they were booked for a penalty of 1,600. Why then, you may wonder, is this a tale of such sorrow? stuff of which epics, not tragedies, are made? In the excitement, East had lost track of the auction. Believing

that North had bid no trumps

North +A 10 7 ¥43 ♦ KJ 10 2 **★**KQ84

♠ KJ2 ¥975

2+ Redble No Dble No first, and that it was therefore

centre-forward.

David Lacey at Wembley

St James' Park uncomfortable memories of how it was lost.

o moreover without an orthodox

Kevin Keegan offered no excuses

for a Newcastle performance that fell way below last season's high standards. "Manchester United's 4-0 win was about right," he confessed. There was an enormous gulf be-

While Shearer, closely watched by May and poorly supplied with passes and crosses throughout, struggled to make an impact, Manchester United consistently ex-

tween the two sides today.

more in three minutes towards the end left Newcastle to ponder the un-comfortable truth that it will take more than the vision of the chairman, Sir John Hall, to bring the league title to Tyneside for the first time in 70 years. Only Nottingham Forest, who beat Ipswich 50 in

phatically at Wembley. Cantona was quite superb, apart from one incident with Newcastle's | doubled.

he was lucky to escape with a booking. The Frenchman, who has taken over as Manchester United's captain, orchestrated Newcastle's destruction as Lee, Batty and Beardsley were outmanoeuvred to the patterns of passing and movement. David Beckham's influence on the match can only have impressed the watching England coach Glenn Hoddle. Beckhan, so much more effective when moving inside from the right wing, sent in Cantona to slide the ball past Sruicek after 24

On the half-hour he gathered pack-heeled flick from Cantona before centring for Butt to head in the second. Butt later went off with a concussion apparently shared by

the opposing defence. Newcastle established an attacking presence in the second half once Ginola began to roam and Asprilia had replaced a labouring Beardsley. But Schmeichel was sel-dom troubled and, with two of Ferguson's summer signings, Karel Poborsky and Jordi Cruyff, now ugmenting their attack, the chan-

pions mopped up. In the 85th minute Beckhain strode on to a Cantona pass and lobbed the advancing Srnicek. Two kick square for Kenne to score an

comphatic fourth,
"We've got to defend as well as
score goals," said Shearer, who had
failed to hit the target, "and we
didn't even do that today."

"Poborsky and Cruyff showed that you don't have to pay exorbitant prices to get brilliant value," said Ferguson a little machievously. Nobody mentioned Andy Cole.

who лоw looks a snip at £7 million. Like his old team he had caught pneumonia, except that in Newcastle's case the dose on Sunday was

Quick crossword no. 327 Nickname of Florida (8.5) 8 Sailor (3) 9 Skilled craftsman (9) 1 Yield (4) 13 In excess of (6) 14 Confidential (6) 16 Telephone - or visit (4) 17 Dangerous (8) 20 Random (9) 21 Pin (3) 22 Stocking Supporter (9.4)

begin working

4 Idea(6) for valuables (4)



Bridge Zia Mahmood

The grey squirrel at the bottom of

the garden has a very capable voice

of her own, But she needs moral

Who makes those decisions and in

what way are they accountable? We

Although it is accepted that the

brink of extinction.

| FYOU are one of those people who cries at tragic dramas, go and fetch a box of tissues before heart-rending ever to happen at

63 VAKQJ1086 +4 4862

♥AKQJ1086 1093

lead, he quickly detached a middlamond from his hand and before the horrified West could stop him, had placed it face up the table! Of course, South etc. cised his option to compel cised his option to compard is amond lead from West, and the contract was made with an overtrick for a score of 1,400 with the rubber bonus to North South. Even the Sphinx would have shed a tear for West.

Up, up and away . . . Manchester United's David Beckham on his

CR Manchester United another successful season beckons; for Newcastle United the defence rests. the game on Sunday offered Old Trafford strong reminders of how the championship was regained and

More than 45,000 Newcastle supporters thronged Wembley in eager inticipation of seeing Alan Shearer hrow down a £15 million gauntlet that would leave Manchester United numbed with self-doubt, Double or

no Double. in the event Newcastle were, for die most part, all fingers and lumbs. Alex Ferguson's team won the most passionate Charity Shield match in living memory by the secand biggest margin since the occasion moved to the stadium, and did

ploited the gaps left by inept Newcastle defending. Two goals in six minutes left Keegan's side chasing the match. Two

1978, have won the Shield more em-

nounced his retirement. The 34-year-old, who took 75 wickets in 24 Tests, is quitting to concentrate on his business interests.

